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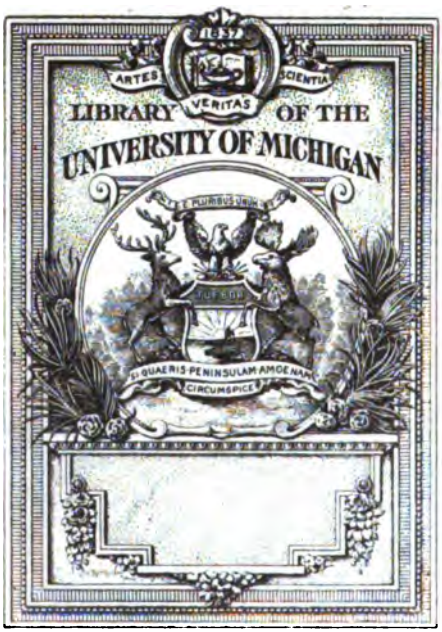
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TO

Joseph Moyle Esq;

Dear Sir,

WHEN You did me the Honour to make choice of me, for the selecting and preparing for the Press the Posthumous

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Works of the late Mr. MOYLE, You ſhew'd the greateſt Regard for me that you could poſſibly expreſs, by repoſing ſo important a Truſt in me, as the Care of the Reputation of the beſt of Friends and Brothers, whoſe Perſon was, and whoſe Memory will be ever dear to You.

THE Friendſhip and Affection which I conceiv'd for You ever ſince our firſt Acquaintance, the high Eſteem which I have had for more than twenty Years for the

great Qualities of your Brother, and my Knowledge of what the learned World expects from them, have oblig'd me not only to uſe my utmoſt Diligence and Application in ſelecting and reviſing ſuch of his Papers as were moſt proper to be publiſh'd, but alſo to call to my Aſſiſtance ſuch Perſons as were beſt qualify'd to ſupply my want of Ability, which your Friendſhip had kindly over-look'd.

BUT here, Sir, I foreſee with Regret, that the

Gentlemen who were the Friends and conſtant Companions of the late Mr. MOYLE, when he reſided in Town, will be greatly diſappointed when they find, inſtead of the finiſh'd Pieces which they might expect from his laſt hand, the following Collection to conſiſt of Diſcourſes and Letters written merely on occaſion, without any Intention of being made publick, but now printed to prevent more faulty Editions which were apprehended from numerous Copies abroad. Theſe Gentlemen,

tlemen, I fear, will be more diſappointed, when they find here ſo few Productions of that beautiful Imagination, which made Mr. MOYLE the Delight and Joy of the moſt pleaſant and entertaining Converſations; ſo few of the Fruits of that bright Faculty, which in conjunction with a Judgment, even in the bloom of Life, conſummate, gave him ſo ſure and ſo fine a Taſte of the *Belles Lettres*, and enabled him to decide, like an abſolute Maſter, what was the real Merit of all the great Authors who

who have ſignaliz'd themſelves in human Literature, Orators, Hiſtorians, Poets, both antient and modern. But if they are diſappointed of thoſe fine and judicious Diſcourſes upon thoſe Subjects of Wit and Criticiſm, with which he was us'd ſo agreeably to entertain them, when he was here among them, they will, on the other ſide, be extremely ſurpriz'd, and perhaps not a little delighted, to find that Compaſs of Literature, which they knew to be ſo great in his early Youth, as to qualify him

him at four and twenty to write the firſt Part of the *Eſſay upon the* Roman *Government*, advanc'd and carry'd on further by him into new Regions of Learning. They will undoubtedly be both ſurpriz'd and pleas'd, to ſee him inſtructing Mr. DODWELL in Chronology, and correcting in Oriental Learning the late admirable Dean of *Norwich*, his dear Friend and Relation, whoſe Works will be eſteem'd and admir'd by all the Learned, as long as the Language in which they are writ endures.

AND

AND now, Sir, what Return can I make You for the Honour You have done me? I cou'd never certainly have made any Return that cou'd bear the leaſt Proportion to the Obligations which I owe You, if You your ſelf had not enabled me. But when I here preſent You with the choiceſt of the Manuſcripts which You put into my hands, printed in the following Collection, which I regard as a ſure Pledge of Your Brother's immortal Fame, I have reaſon to believe that

I make You a Preſent of the greateſt Value that any of Your Friends can offer to You, and the moſt pleaſing and affecting one which You can poſſibly receive.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt Oblig'd

and Faithful

Humble Servant,

Feb. 14. 1725.

Tho. Sergeant.

ERRATA.

PAGE 47. *line* 20. for *is* read *are*. *P.* 58. *l.* 19. for *less* r. *more*. *P.* 91. for *Cinian* r. *Cincian*. *P.* 107. *l.* 20. after *Guards* r. *and*.

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ERRATA.

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AN

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

ROMAN Government.

In TWO PARTS.

A N

ESSAY

UPON THE

Roman Government.

PART I.

ROMULUS at the head of a numerous Colony from *Alba*, was the firſt Founder of the *Roman* State *. This Colony was in the original State of Nature free, and independent of any Dominion whatſoever, and only choſe ROMULUS for their Leader, till their new City was built, and

* Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 2. p. 60. Edit. R. Steph. 1545. Folio.

they were at leiſure to conſider what Form of Government they ſhould reſolve upon.

MONARCHY was the antient Government of *Alba*, and continu'd down for many Ages * in a lineal Succeſſion of Princes, famous for their Juſtice and Moderation at home, and their Conqueſts abroad. The love of their antient Conſtitution, (ſo natural to Mankind) together with the Eaſe and Plenty they enjoy'd under former Reigns, (which they imagin'd to be owing to the Civil Orders and Inſtitutions of the State, and not to the Vertue and Emulation of their particular Kings) were Conſiderations ſtrong enough to incline the People in favour of Monarchy, which they made choice of by univerſal Conſent, and elected ROMULUS † for their firſt King: who, immediately after his Advancement, erected a Frame of Government, upon ſuch admirable Orders, both Civil, Military and Religious, that, if no Alteration had been made in the Fundamental Laws by himſelf,

* Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 2. p. 60. † Ibid. p. 62.

or

or his Succeſſors, it would have been the moſt Noble, as well as moſt Laſting Conſtitution of Limited Monarchy that ever was in the World.

HIS firſt Care was to poſſeſs the People with the Notion of his Divine Appointment over them: Before he attempted the Crown, the Gods were conſulted in the uſual Forms ‡; and all the Tokens of Divine Approbation appear'd: which left no room for Pretenders to diſpute his Title, nor to the People to repeal their Choice. This begat a Reverence and a Veneration for his Perſon, added Weight and Authority to his Laws, and Strength and Reputation to his Government.

THE belief of this Divine Deſignation once infuſed into the Minds of the People, he proceeded to lay the Foundation of his Government *, and began with ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of the Regal Power by a wiſe Inſtitution of an hereditary Order of Nobility, compos'd out of the

‡ Dion. Halic. l. 2. p. 60. * Ibid. p. 64.

Richeſt and the Nobleſt of his new Colony. Out of this Order were choſen all the Councils and Magiſtracies of the Commonwealth; all Officers, Civil and Military: and out of theſe he formed the great Council of State, called the *Senate*. *Factio haud dubiæ Regis, cujus beneficio in Curiam venerant*, ſays LIVY †: And indeed this Diſtinction of Honour and Power, theſe mighty Privileges and Immunities, created a neceſſary Dependence of the Nobility upon the Crown, and engag'd them intirely in the Support of the Monarchy, under whoſe Protection they enjoy'd theſe Advantages, to the Excluſion of the reſt of the People. And in all Ages the Nobility has been the Guard of Sovereign Power in limited Monarchys, and always oppos'd any Innovations in favour of popular Government; for fear of introducing an Equality, inconſiſtent with their Privileges.

BUT ROMULUS, wiſely conſidering that this diviſion of the People into two

† Lib. 1. cap. 35.

Orders,

Orders, would make different Parties and Factions in the State, which in time would diſſolve the Government, unleſs they were united by ſome common Intereſt, reſolved, ſince he could not make an Equality, at leaſt to create a Dependence of the Commons upon the Nobility, by introducing the Cuſtom of *Patronage* *; which was, allotting ſuch *Patrons* out of the Nobility to the Commons, who were oblig'd to defend them in the poſſeſſion of their Rights and Properties; to adviſe them in all Matters of weight, and to protect them againſt all Violence and Oppreſſion: while the *Client* on his part was oblig'd to pay all Deference and Eſteem to his *Patron*, and to ſerve him with his Life and Fortune in any Extremity ‡. This mutual intercourſe of good Offices, begat a Confidence and good Correſpondence between the Nobility and Commons, without thoſe Jealouſies and Animoſities which are the infallible Conſequences of two Parties, between whom there is no common Bond of Union.

* Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 63,64. Edit. H. Steph. 1572. Octavo.

‡ Plut. in Rom. p. 45.

HAVING provided for the Support of the Monarchy, his next care was to ſecure his own Perſon from the Dangers of any ſudden Tumult, or popular Inſurrection, by eſtabliſhing a Guard*, compos'd of the braveſt Youth of the Nobility, who conſtantly attended his Perſon, and were the Executioners of all his Orders in the City, and fought by his ſide in the Field.

TO defray the neceſſary Expences of the Court, he reſerv'd to himſelf † a good Share out of the general Diviſion of the Land to the People, which he appropriated to the Maintenance of the Civil Liſt, and to ſupport a Splendor becoming his Dignity. For the ordinary Revenue of the Kings of *Rome* lay in their Crown-Lands; and the extraordinary Charges of War and other Contingencies, were ſupported by levying Taxes upon the People.

THO he ſhared the Legiſlative in common with the People and *Senate* ‡, and

* Dion. p. 65. † Ibid. p. 62, 102, 128.
‡ Ibid. p. 66.

had

had no Power to paſs any Law without Concurrence of both Orders, yet he had the ſole Right of propoſing to the People in their Aſſemblies, by virtue of his Prerogative, which amounted to a full negative Voice in all their Determinations; neither the People nor *Senate* having the Liberty of propoſing, debating, or enacting Laws, till they were firſt moved from the Throne.

BESIDES this Advantage of having the largeſt Share of the Legiſlative Power of the Commonwealth, he had all the executive * Power of the State lodg'd in his Hands. He had the ſupreme Power of adminiſtration of Juſtice in all Cauſes, Civil and Criminal, unleſs in thoſe of little Conſideration, which he referr'd to the *Senate*; but in all others he was Sovereign Judge in the laſt Reſort, without any further Appeal to the People: and in time of War he had the abſolute Command of all the Forces of the State †.

---

* Dion. Halic. p. 65. † Ibid.

THUS

THUS I have run briefly thro the Civil Orders, upon which the great Lawgiver founded his Dominion, *viz.* the Opinion of a Divine Appointment; the Dependence of the Nobility upon his Intereſt, and the Dependence of their Clients upon them; his ſtanding Body of Guards; his great Revenue in Lands; the ſole Power of the Executive, and part of the Legiſlative; and laſt of all, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Command of the Armies, which were the great Branches of the Royal Prerogative.

THE next thing I ſhall proceed on, is the Religious Inſtitution of *Rome*; which, whether we conſider the Simplicity of its Precepts, and their mighty Influence upon the Morals of the People, or their admirable Application to all the Ends of Civil Society, and particularly to the Support of the Monarchy, will appear to be the wiſeſt and the moſt politick Syſtem of Religion, that ever any Lawgiver founded.

ROMU-

ROMULUS drew only the rough Draught of Religion, which was finiſh'd and brought to perfection by the great Genius of NUMA*; who from a private Man, and a Foreigner, was courted to accept of the Crown, purely upon the Renown of his Piety and Juſtice†. The Principles from which he derived Authority and Belief to his Religion, were, firſt the Reputation of Sincerity, which is the univerſal ground of Perſuaſion; his innocent Practice upon the Credulity of a barbarous People, by pretending to a ſupernatural Revelation of his Laws; and laſtly, the Operation of Miracles ‡.

THIS has been the current Practice of all the great Legiſlators of ** Antiquity, who thought the Opinion of a Divine Miſſion and Authority, abſolutely neceſſary to procure belief to all their Doctrines, and a blind and abandon'd Submiſſion to all their Laws††.

---

* Livy, l. 2. c. 18. † Plut. p. 111.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 91. ** Diod. Sic. p. 48. Edit. Rhodomani. †† Idem.

UPON this bottom NUMA erected the Scheme of his Religion; in which he avoided all the Follies and Abſurdities of other Legiſlators ‡.

HE did not enjoin the belief of Contradictions and Impoſſibilities, which take off from the Reputation of the Lawgiver, and diſcredit his Religion *: nor did he introduce any Opinions unworthy of the Gods, and inconſiſtent with the divine Nature: nor did he require the belief of many Articles of Faith, which create Schiſms and Hereſies in the Church, and end in the ruin of Religion. For if Schiſms and Hereſies were trac'd up to their original Cauſes, it would be found that they all ſprung chiefly from the multiplying Articles of Faith, and narrowing the bottom of Religion, by clogging it with Creeds and Catechiſms, and endleſs Niceties about the Eſſence, Properties, and Attributes of God. The common Principles of Religion all Mankind agree in;

‡ Plut. p. 113. Dionyſ. p. 91. * Ibid. p. 68.

and

and the belief of theſe Doctrines a Lawgiver may venture to enjoin; but he muſt go no further, if he means to preſerve an Uniformity in Religion. For the Injunction of poſitive Laws, how much ſoever they contradict the Inclinations of Mankind, rarely produce any Schiſms: ſo much eaſier it is for Men to practiſe againſt their Paſſions, than to believe againſt their Underſtandings. But NUMA, by a wiſe Conduct, prevented all Factions and Diviſions in the Church, by the Inſtitution of only two Articles of Faith *:

Firſt, THAT the Gods were the Authors of all Good to Mankind †.

Secondly, THAT to obtain this Good, the Gods were to be worſhipp'd; in which Worſhip, the chief of all was to be Innocent, Good and Juſt.

THESE were the two fundamental Articles of the *Roman* Religion, which

---

* Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 1. † Dionyſ. p. 92, 67, 255.

ZA-

ZALEUCUS ſeems to have copy'd in the Inſtitution of his Commonwealth ‡.

AS for the firſt, tho in compliance to the popular Opinion, and in a vulgar Way, the great Men of Antiquity ſpoke of the Godhead in the plural Number; yet upon all ſolemn Occaſions, when they mentioned the Godhead with any Gravity and Emphaſis, it was by the Name of ὁ Δαιμόνιον, ὁ Θεὸς; or *Deus Optimus Maximus*. Tho the Unity of the Godhead be as demonſtrable as its Exiſtence, and tho this Principle was embrac'd not only by many private Men and Sects of Philoſophers, but by whole Nations of Antiquity; yet flattery to the Memories of their Benefactors, the Intereſt of Prieſts, the Ignorance of Mankind, and many other Cauſes had introduced *Polytheiſm* into the National Religion of the greateſt part of the World.

WHATEVER Sentiments NUMA had of the Godhead, 'tis plain he comply'd with the current Divinity of the Times,

‡ Diod. Sic. l. 12. p. 84.

and

and eſtabliſh'd a Plurality of Gods in his Syſtem; perhaps from this Conſideration, that the abſolute and perfect Unity of the Godhead, was a Notion too refin'd to gain Reception in an Age univerſally overrun with *Polytheiſm*; when even MOSES himſelf, with all his divine Inſpiration, and the irreſiſtible Force of his Miracles, found much difficulty to maſter the popular Prejudice againſt it. But tho this perfect Unity of the Godhead was a Doctrine leſs known to the World, yet the Exiſtence of a God, and the Providence of ſome ſuperior Powers, are acknowledg'd by all civiliz'd Nations *.

THE ſecond Article is but a natural Conſequence of the firſt: and thus we ſee NUMA's Syſtem of Religion took in all the common Opinions of Mankind. As for the particular Forms of Divine Worſhip, he inſtituted a Ritual, which directed the Prieſts in the ſolemn Ceremonies and Services of Religion, without denying a Toleration of other Forms; of which more hereafter.

* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 2.

THE

THE Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, tho it was no part of the Religion of the *Romans*, but ſeems left rather as a Problem of Philoſophy * than an Article of Divinity, yet was always cheriſh'd and encourag'd by the Commonwealth, as an Opinion of great uſe and ſervice to the State. Had it been an eſtabliſh'd Doctrine, VETURIA would not have talk'd ſo doubtfully of it in her Speech to CORIOLANUS †; nor CÆSAR have openly derided it in the face of the whole *Senate* ‡. I am inclin'd to believe, it was firſt tranſplanted from *Greece* to *Italy* by PYTHAGORAS, and from thence deriv'd to the *Romans* **: however it might firſt have been introduc'd, we find it was receiv'd as a thing plauſible; tho in the ſame rank and upon the ſame level with thoſe Fables and other religious Hiſtories and Traditions which the Poets ſang. And POLYBIUS †† blames ſome who made it their buſineſs to diſpoſſeſs the Vulgar of

* Juv. Sat. 2. † Dionyſ. p. 386. ‡ Sal. in Cat.
** Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. —— de Sen. c. 2.
†† L. 6. c. 64. Amſt. 1670. Octavo.

that

that Opinion. NUMA likewiſe interwove his moral Precepts with his religious Doctrine; for the great Principle of his Morality, JUSTICE*, which in a manner comprehends all other moral Vertues, was grounded upon this Perſuaſion, "That the Gods were the moſt excellent "Nature, and the great Examples of "higheſt Vertue; that they adminiſter'd "every thing juſtly, and had a due Care "and Providence over the whole; and "that they never beſtow'd their Favours "upon unjuſt Men." From this Root ſprung that noble Branch of their Morals, the Love of their Country; which afterwards grew to be the fundamental Article of their *Ethicks*, and the Standard of all Vertue and Vice. This Principle was paſſionately purſu'd by all the great *Romans*; at this, the inexorable CORIOLANUS relented; for this, the DECII and CURTII devoted themſelves; to this Principle BRUTUS ſacrific'd his Son: This was improv'd and cultivated by the force of Education, and confirm'd by more ge-

* Dionyſ. p. 92.

nerous Examples than any Age or Nation can boaſt of.

NOR did he ſour his Religion with needleſs Severities and affected Auſterities, by impoſing Doctrines of Penance, Abſtinence and Mortification, which ſerve only to croſs the innocent Appetites of Mankind, without making them better or wiſer.

BESIDES the Influence of his Religion upon the Duties of private Life, he likewiſe made it a part of the *Roman* Policy, and ſubſervient to all the great Ends of Government and Society*. All the Elections of their Magiſtrates, and all their publick Reſolutions, were ratify'd by the ſolemn Approbation of their Gods, conſulted by their College of *Diviners*; than which nothing could be a greater reach of Policy, to teach the People Obedience to their Magiſtrates, and Subjection to their Laws. This was likewiſe a mighty incentive to Valour and Reſolution to their Ar-

* Liv. l. 1. c. 36.

mies

mies upon any deſperate Service, and won them many Victories; for Prophecies, by the aſſurance they give of Succeſs, are oftentimes the Cauſes of the Events that they foretel.

NUMA, by the wide Bottom of his Religion, prevented all Hereſies in Fundamentals; and in the particular Forms of divine Worſhip he allow'd a general Liberty of Conſcience *.

THIS generous Principle of tolerating all Religions in the Commonwealth, was that above all others which fitted his Syſtem to the chief Deſign of the Government; for the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Roman* Greatneſs were wholly owing to the mighty Confluence of People from all Parts of the World, (with Cuſtoms and Ceremonies very different from the *Romans*) who wou'd never have ſettled there, without an Allowance of the free Exerciſe of their particular Religions. 'Tis true, the *Romans* were very cautious of introducing

* Dionyſ. p. 68.

any new Rites into their National Religion*; and there are frequent Inſtances in their Hiſtories of their forbidding the Magiſtrates to make any Innovations in the publick Worſhip†. But this Order did not extend to regulate the Opinions or Devotions of private Men, as appears by the Decree of the *Senate*, enacted upon the Suppreſſion of the *Bacchanalia:* That any one who asked leave of the *Senate* might celebrate the Myſteries in private, tho they diſſolv'd the publick Aſſemblies of the *Bacchanalia*, as a Seminary of all Debauchery, and dangerous to the State**.

THIS wiſe Inſtitution of an univerſal Liberty in Religion, ſeems to be owing to this ſingle Cauſe, *viz*††. "That the Go-"vernment of the National Religion was "lodg'd in the *Senate* and People." 'Tis true, under the Government of the Kings, the *Pontifices* had a very large Juriſdiction, being the publick Directors of all the

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* Liv. l. 4. c. 30.
† Val. Max. l. 1. c. 3. Liv. l. 25. c. 1.
** Liv. l. 39. c. 18. †† Dionyſ. p. 99.

divine

divine Rights, with an unlimited Power of judging and determining all religious Diſputes whatſoever, without being accountable to any ſuperior Authority: but their mighty Power declin'd after the Subverſion of the Monarchy; and after that, the ſole Power of Religion devolv'd upon the civil Magiſtrate, as may be eaſily made appear by the *Roman* Hiſtorians. Firſt,

ALL Neglects of the National Religion, and the Introduction of foreign Rites and Ceremonies, were puniſh'd and prohibited by the *Senate*, the Prieſts never interpoſing their Authority *: But the Execution of all the Religious Orders of the *Senate* were committed to the *Ædiles* and *Prætors* †, who were civil Magiſtrates; and all Toleration of Myſteries and Ceremonies, ** contrary to the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, were granted by the *Senate*.

ALL Innovations in the National Worſhip, ſuch as Adoption of new Gods, and

* Liv. l. 39. c. 18. l. 25. c. 1. l. 4. c. 1.
† Cic. in Or. de Reſ. Haruſ. c. 13. ** Liv. l. 39. c. 18.

the Inſtitutions of new Forms and Ceremonys in Religion, were appointed by the Authority of the *Senate* ‡.

NOR had the Prieſts any Right to conſult the great Oracles of their Divine Worſhip, the *Sybilline* Verſes, in which they plac'd the Infallibility of their Religion, unleſs by the expreſs Command of the *Senate*.

NOR did the Senate make any Scruple of acting againſt the Authority of the *Pontifex Maximus* †, who was the ſupreme Governour of the *Hierarchy*.

IT is evident likewiſe that the whole Order ‡‡ of the High-Prieſts were ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the *Tribunes* of the People, for CICERO * tells CLAUDIUS the *Tribune*, *Collegium Pontificum Tribunus Plebis poteras cogere*, that by the virtue of his *Tribuneſhip* he could compel them to obey his Orders.

‡ Val. Max. l. 8. c. 15. Dionyſ. p. 68. Cic. de Div. l. 1. c. 43, 44. l. 2. c. 54. Dionyſ. p. 192.
† Liv. l. 55. c. 9. ‡‡ Liv. l. 33. c. 42.
* Cic. Or. pro. Dom. ad Pon. c. 45.

CICERO

CICERO likewiſe declares the ſupreme Power of Religion to be lodg'd in the People †; for when CLAUDIUS had conſecrated his Houſe, and one of the High Prieſts aſſiſted at the Solemnity, the People in their Aſſembly pronounc'd the Conſecration void. *Populus*, ſays TULLY, *cujus eſt ſumma poteſtas omnium rerum* *. And when the further Conſideration of that Affair was refer'd to the College of the High-Prieſts by the Orders of the *Senate*, (*non quod dubia res eſſet*, not that the thing admitted of any doubt after the determination of the People) their Sentence was not valid till it was reported to the *Senate*, and ratify'd by their Authority.

BY what Paces and Methods the civil Power wreſted the Government of Religion out of the Hands of the Prieſts, is difficult to determine, in the ſilence of all the antient Writers. But probably the uſurping the Right of electing the *Pontifex*

† Cic. de Har. c. 6. * Ibid. c. 6.

Maximus, after the expulſion of the Kings, was the leading ſtep to the Invaſion of all their other Privileges.

THE Government of Religion being in the Hands of the State, was a neceſſary cauſe of Liberty of Conſcience; for there is ſcarce any Inſtance in Story of a Perſecution rais'd by a Free Government. Perſecutions are generally made to gratify the Pride, the Ambition, or the Intereſts of the Clergy; which a State, that hath the Command of the National Conſcience, will never indulge at the expence of the publick Good.

A FREE Government is deſign'd for the Liberty of the whole Society, which Perſecution is inconſiſtent with; and 'tis againſt all the Rules of Policy to perſecute Opinions not deſtructive to humane Society: for a neceſſary Conſequence of ſuch a Practice, is the narrowing the bottom of the Community, by weakning the Strength and Force of the Commonwealth, which conſiſts in the number of the People, who in all appearance will, when thus diſturb'd, retire

retire to an eaſier Government; nor can this fail to break the firm Unity of the Nation, which theſe ſevere Arts of Government are inconſiſtent with. But Perſecutions are generally encourag'd only by Tyrants and Prieſts. By Tyrants, either from a falſe Bigotry, or a miſguided Zeal for Religion; or from a boundleſs Vanity and Pride of forcing all their Subjects to comply with their Opinions as well as Commands; or from a barbarous Policy of thinning the People, that they may with the greater eaſe oppreſs the reſt *; or from an apprehenſion that Revolutions in Religion may be attended with Revolutions in State; or from the hopes of gaining a farther ſupport to their Tyranny by engaging the Clergy, whoſe intereſt it will eternally be, to make War upon all contrary Religions. This laſt Conſideration hath produc'd moſt of the modern Perſecutions: Prieſts and Tyrants having join'd their intereſt to enſlave the World, and ſhare the Booty between them.

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* Dio. Caſ. in Or. Mecæ. ad Auguſt.

PER-

PERSECUTIONS are made by Prieſts from a dread that Changes in National Religion may end in the ruin of all their Privileges, and Revenues; which being originally beſtow'd upon them from an Opinion of their divine Miſſion, and the Reverence to the Religion committed to their charge, whenever the Religion is aboliſh'd, muſt of courſe return to the State, or be transferr'd to the Heads of the prevailing Sect ‡. This was the Fate of the Revenues of the Heathen Prieſthood, (which were all ſeiz'd upon by THEODOSIUS the Great †, in the final Diſſolution of their Religion) and the ſame alſo was the Fate of the *Romiſh* Clergy at the time of the Reformation.

AS the Religion of the *Romans* was a part of their Policy, ſo their Clergy likewiſe was a part of their Laity, and interwoven into the general Intereſt of the State; not a ſeparate independent Body

‡ Zoſimus, l. 4. ſub fin.

† Symm. Epiſ. l. 10. Epiſ. 61.

from

from the reſt of the Community, nor any conſiderable Ballance of the Civil Government; but ſettled upon ſuch an Inſtitution, as they could have neither Intereſt nor Power to act againſt the publick Good. A Conſtitution which the modern Policy hath overlook'd out of Ignorance, or neglected out of Deſign; as appears from the unlimited Power of the modern Prieſthood, who have uſurp'd a Supremacy, or at leaſt an Independency on the civil Power over half of *Europe*, and (where their Juriſdiction is more reſtrain'd) by virtue of their great Poſſeſſions and Endowments, look the Civil Government in the Face, and have rais'd ſuch Convulſions in the later Ages, as were unknown to the antient World.

BUT the *Roman* Prieſts had no intereſt to ſet up any particular by-Ends in oppoſition to the national Good; for their Stake in the civil Government was infinitely greater than their dependance upon the Church. They were by their original Conſtitution all choſen out of the Nobility, and afterwards out of the richeſt and greateſt

greateſt Men of the Commonwealth*: and conſequently had ſuch an Intereſt in the civil State, as they would not ſacrifice to their particular Order. They were likewiſe promiſcuouſly admitted to all the great Offices and Dignitys of the Commonwealth, which they ſet a much higher value upon, than any of their Eccleſiaſtical Charges; as appears from the Reſentment the Nobility ſhew'd upon the admiſſion of the Commons to the great Magiſtracies of the Republick: *Salii, Flamineſq; nuſquam, aliò quam ad ſacrificandum pro populo, ſine imperiis & poteſtatibus relinquantur* †. That was the Senſe of the Nobility upon the paſſing of that Law. And there are Inſtances in the *Roman* Story, of Men who have been compelled againſt their Inclinations to accept the Prieſthood‡; ſo far were the Dignities of the Church from being equal to thoſe of the State. Theſe Conſiderations muſt neceſſarily make the Clergy true to the Intereſts of the whole Community, becauſe their own Advantages were in-

* Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 69, 70, 337. Cic. in Or. pro Domo, c. 1.
† Liv. l. 4. c. 54. ‡ Liv. l. 27. c. 8.

volv'd

volv'd in the National Good. Thus the *Romans* wiſely prevented the two only fatal Effects which the Religious Orders of the State can have upon the Civil Government. The firſt is, from the Nature and Inſtitution of the Religion it ſelf, which from the multitude of Doctrines and Articles of Faith, may divide the People into Schiſms and Hereſies in the Church, which generally end in Parties and Factions in the State, and they always in the Diſſolution of the Government. The other is, making the Clergy a ſeperate independent Body from the Laity, with Ends and Deſigns interfering with the publick Intereſts of the Civil Society; which is erecting *Imperium in Imperio*, and directly oppoſite to all the Maxims of antient Policy.

NOR had the *Roman* Prieſthood Power to ſet up for themſelves, or to give Laws to the Civil Magiſtrate, or to uſurp any extraordinary Juriſdiction, or to make any conſiderable Figure in the Ballance of the Civil Government.

POWER

POWER is of two kinds, Imaginary or Real. Imaginary Power is Authority founded upon Opinion: Real Power is Authority founded upon Dominion and Property. But the *Roman* Clergy had little of the firſt, and none of the laſt, till the ruin of the Commonwealth.

AUTHORITY built upon Opinion is uſually deriv'd to the Clergy, from a perſuaſion in the People of their Divine Miſſion and Deſignation; or from a Reverence to their myſtick Ceremonies and Inſtitutions; or for their pretended Empire over the Conſciences of Mankind.

AS for the firſt, they had no more Title to claim ſuch a ſupernatural Warrant to their Authority, than all the Civil Officers of the State, whoſe Elections as well as theirs were all confirm'd by Divine Approbation. They were likewiſe choſen in the Aſſemblies of the People, and were frequently degraded upon very ſlight Occaſions, and oftentimes by the Authority of

of the Civil Power‡: which is a Proof that they had no extraordinary Virtue, or Privilege inherent to their Character: The Prieſts of the firſt Order (all but the *Augurs*) not being exempt from the penalty of Deprivation. Their Empire over the Conſciences of Mankind, is exercis'd either by the infliction of ſpiritual Cenſures, which they pretend to be ſeconded by the Divine Diſpleaſure, or by the abſolution of Crimes, by virtue of certain Luſtrations and expiatory Sacrifices†: And all the Precedents that I can meet with of the firſt kind amount to no more than (an *Odi profanum Vulgus et arceo*) to an excluſion of impious and irreligious Perſons from the ſolemn Sacrifices; a Sentence which had little Authority with Men of their Character. Their Power of Abſolution extended no farther than to pardon Crimes of inadvertency, or ſome neglects in the outward form of Religious Worſhip*: But great

‡ Dionyſ. p. 61. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 1. Liv. l. 26. c. 23. Suet. in Jul. c. 1. Plin. Ep. l. 4. Ep. 8. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. c. 99. † Cic. de Leg. l. 2. Liv. l. 45. c. 5. Suet. in Ner. c. 34. * Varro p. 50. Zoſ. l. 2. Cic. de Leg. l. 1. c. 14.

Offences

Offences and notorious Immoralities could be aton'd by no Expiation whatſoever. Omiſſions of external Ceremonies, ſays TULLY, *Aſperſione aquæ aut dierum numero tolluntur*; *Animi labes nec diuturnitate nec manibus ullis elui poteſt.** And whenever the Prieſts pretended to a Power of expiating Immoralities, the *Romans* were too wiſe and too virtuous to admit of ſuch an infamous Refuge. Witneſs the famous Inſtance of REGULUS, who having taken a ſolemn Oath to return to *Carthage*, in caſe the *Romans* refus'd the Conditions offer'd by the *Carthaginians*, when the High-Prieſts by virtue of their Authority offer'd to abſolve him from the guilt of Perjury, he rejected the Notion with Indignation; which he never would have done, had he imagin'd that any Power upon Earth could diſſolve ſo Sacred an Obligation, or any Expiation atone for ſuch a Crime ‡.

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* De Leg. l. 2. ‡ Suppl. Liv. Dec. II. l. 18. c. 62.

THE

THE myſtick Ceremonies and Inſtitutions of the *Grecians*, which procur'd ſuch a Veneration and Reverence to the *Grecian* Clergy, were grounded upon a ſuperſtitious Apprehenſion amongſt the weaker ſort of People, " That many Advantages " in Life, and certain Benefits in a State " hereafter, depended on their Admiſſion " to participate in thoſe myſterious Rites " and Inſtitutions*." Which Trade, however advantageous it may ſeem to have been to the Prieſthood of that time, was not however of that Profit and Honour, as to raiſe them to any Conſideration or Note above other Profeſſions, ſo as to be an Order of Men making any Figure, or bearing any Sway in the States or Common-wealth we read of†.

THESE Myſteries had no part in the Religious Inſtitutions of the *Romans*, for DIONYSIUS expreſsly ſays they had no

* Laert. in vita Diog. p. 334. Plut in aud. Poe. p. 37.

† Dionyſ. p. 68. Suet. in Claud. c. 25. Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 14. Lucianus in Demo.

τελεταὶ ἀπόῤῥητοι, no occult Myſteries, in the very corruption of the Commonwealth†.

FROM hence it is evident that the *Roman* Church * wanted theſe natural Sources, by which Authority is deriv'd to the Characters and Perſons of the Clergy, and by which Arts, others have ſo ſucceſsfully maſter'd the Opinions and Conſciences of Mankind, and conſequently influenc'd their Actions, and commanded their Fortunes.

AUTHORITY founded on Dominion, reſults to the Clergy, either from a Right of Supremacy over the Church, or from a legal Juriſdiction and coercive Power over the Actions, the Lives, and the Conduct of the Laity. But I have already prov'd, that the *Pontifex Maximus* was ſo far from having the Government of the Church, that his Authority under the Popular State amounted to little more than a power of Repreſentation, or Advice to

† Aurel. Vict. in Adrian. * Idem:

the

the *Senate* in all Religious Controverſies that lay before the Conſideration of the *Senate* ‡. Beſides the Arguments already urg'd, the dependance of the *Roman* Church upon the Civil Power, appears from the Appeals made by the Clergy to the People, upon Diſputes ariſing between the Prieſts of different Orders. Their Subjection to the *Tribunes* *, appears from their being compell'd by their Authority to pay their ſhare to the general Taxes, in ſpite of their pretended Immunities; and their Exemption from all Wars, which they enjoy'd by the Donation of ROMULUS †, was repeal'd by a Civil Law. APPIUS ** the Cenſor likewiſe transferr'd the Prieſthood of HERCULES ‡‡, entail'd upon the *Potitian* Family by HERCULES himſelf, to the publick Servants of the State. Thus the People by their Authority oblig'd the *Pontifex Maximus* ††, in ſpite of all his Proteſtations againſt it, to conſecrate the

‡ Liv. l. 33. c. 42. l. 40. c. 42. l. 37. c. 41.
* L. 33. c. 42. † Dionyſ. p. 69.
** Plut. in Mar. p. 545. ‡‡ Feneſtel. l. 1. c. 2.
†† Liv. l. 9. c. 29. l. 9. c. 45.

Temple of *Concord*. DOMITIUS the *Tribune* * tranſlated the Right of electing the *Pontifices* to the People, altho by the Conſtitution of NUMA †, that Power was veſted in the College of the High Prieſts themſelves.

AS for the coercive Power of the Church, DIONYSIUS ſays that the High Prieſts had Power to fine ſuch of the Clergy and Laity as diſobey'd their Orders. But this Privilege of the Clergy, originally inſtituted by NUMA, was aboliſh'd immediately after the Expulſion of the Kings, by the ‡ *Valerian* Law, which gave Liberty to any Citizen that was fin'd or condemn'd by the Sentence of any Magiſtrate, to appeal to the Judgment of the People **: and there are Inſtances in the *Roman* Story of the People's reverſing Fines impos'd by the High Prieſts ††.

FROM theſe numerous Inſtances it is plain that the *Roman* Church was ſubject

* Suet. in Ner. c. 2. † Paterc. l. c. 12. Dionyſ. p. 92.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 216. ** Liv. l. 40. c. 42.
†† Cic. Philip. 11. c. 8.

to

to the Civil Power; and that the State had Power to make what Alterations they pleas'd in the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. I have inſiſted larger upon this Subject, becauſe DIONYSIUS * ſeems to give the College of the High Prieſts ſuch an unlimited Juriſdiction; but 'tis evident that that Paſſage muſt be underſtood of their Authority during the Monarchy only.

THE Conſideration I ſhall next enter upon, is the Authority of the Prieſts founded on Property and Poſſeſſions, which is the only ſtanding Foundation of Dominion; for Power grounded upon Opinion is ſeldom long-liv'd, unleſs back'd by temporal Greatneſs and ſolid Force.

THE ordinary Revenues of the Prieſthood in all Ages, have conſiſted either in the voluntary Oblations of the People, or in Endowments of Lands, and Poſſeſſions, or in certain Shares of the Gains and Labour of the People.

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* Dionyſ. p. 99.

THAT the Profits of the *Roman* Prieſts were very inconſiderable, is evident from the Opinion the Nobility had of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, which they always held inferior to the Poſts of the Civil Government; and inſtead of purſuing and canvaſſing were often compell'd to accept them*: which is a Proof they could get little Benefit or Advantage by them; and there can be no Reaſons aſſign'd why the Imployments of the Church ſhould have any extraordinary Maintenance, when all the Civil Magiſtrates had none. Their Clergy were all Men of Quality and Riches, and were content with the bare Honour of their Dignities, and had a temporal Fortune to ſupport their Expences: And the reaſon why their Prieſts were originally compos'd of the Nobility, was, leſt the Sacred Authority of their Religion, by the Poverty of its Profeſſors, ſhould be proſtituted to mercenary, ungenerous Ends. This is plain from TULLY, who ſays

* Liv. l. 4. c. 54. l. 27. c. 18.

there

there was an antient Law, that ſuch a number of the young Noblemen ſhould be inſtructed in the *Tuſcan* Arts of Divination; *Ne ars tanta propter tenuitatem hominum à Religionis Authoritate ad mercedem et quæſtum abduceretur*‡. And DIONYSIUS † ſeems to reckon the Salaries of the *Augurs*, after the ruin of the Commonwealth, among the Corruptions of their Religion. But the *Diviners*** had the greateſt Power and Authority, of all the Religious Orders; and if they had no Revenues, 'tis improbable the reſt had any: and AUGUSTUS ‡‡ after the Subverſion of the Commonwealth, and TIBERIUS were forc'd to ſettle large Appointments upon the Clergy, *ut Dignatio Sacerdotibus acciderat*, to give Authority and Reputation to the Order. The *Veſtal*†† Virgins, 'tis true, by their original Conſtitution, had publick Allowance ſettl'd on them by the State. But I cannot collect from

‡ Cic. de Div. l. 1. c. 45. Val. Max. p. 5. Liv. l. 9. c. 36.
† Dionyſ. p. 61. ** Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 12.
‡‡ Suet. in Aug. c. 31. Tacit. l. 4.
†† Liv. l. 1. c. 20.

any of the antient Writers, that any conſiderable Revenue, Salary, or Perquiſites belong'd to any of the other Orders, till the time of AUGUSTUS.

Firſt, THEY were not ſupported by the voluntary Oblations of the People *. The *Romans* ** in their Religious Inſtitutions took particular care that Religion ſhould not be a Rent-Charge on the People ‡: From that Principle aroſe the Frugality of their Sacrifices, and the Meanneſs of their Offerings, and Preſents to the Gods †. This Order likewiſe extended to regulate the Bounties and Charities of private Men to the Clergy, for fear the Superſtition of the Common People ſhould ruin their Families. CICERO ‡‡ in the Model of his Commonwealth (which he owns to have tranſcrib'd out of the antient Laws and Conſtitution of *Rome*) forbids all theſe kinds of voluntary Offerings, unleſs to the Prieſts of *Cybele*, *ne Domos exhauri-*

* Dionyſ. p. 63. ** Val. Max. p. 88.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 70. † Plin. l. 18. c. 2.
‡‡ Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 19.

ant.

aut **. And there are frequent Inſtances in LIVY of forbidding, under ſevere Penalties, all thoſe, *quibus quæſtus ex alieno errore facilis, quibus quæſtui ſunt capti ſuperſtitione animi* †; who under different Pretences rais'd Contributions upon the People, by working on their Superſtition *; and ſuch as exercis'd this unlawful Gain, were call'd by the opprobrious Name of ÆRUSCATORES ‡‡. 'Tis true, there were ſome mendicant Orders, who had a Privilege of driving this Trade, as the Prieſts of *Cybele* †† and *Iſis*; but theſe were of a foreign Growth, and not of a *Roman* *** Inſtitution, and were had in contempt by the wiſeſt and the beſt of the *Romans*, as no *Roman* was ever a Prieſt of that Order ‡‡‡. We likewiſe often read of voluntary Oblations of the People †††; but thoſe were apply'd (not to the Maintenance of their Prieſts, but) to the Ce-

** Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 9.
† Liv. l. 4. c. 30. l. 25. c. 1. Ovid. de Pont. l. 1. Ep. 1.
* Aul. Gel. l. 14. c. 1.
‡‡ Phæd. l. 3. Fab. 20. †† Val. Max. l. 7. c. 3.
*** Lucret. l. 2. Dionyſ. p. 68. Juven. Sat. 6.
‡‡‡ Liv. l. 25. c. 12.
††† Plin. l. 33. Macrob. l. 2. c. 6.

lebration

lebration of their Religious Games, or the ſolemn Feaſts and Entertainment of their Gods. And in general we find that all thoſe kinds of Offerings were diſcourag'd by the State: *Non agnoſco eos* (ſays CICERO*) *qui quæſtus cauſa auriolentur.* Nor was the *Æs Sacrum* †, or the *Sacramentum*, appropriated to the Revenues of the Prieſts ‡, but enter'd into the Treaſury, and iſſu'd out in order to be apply'd to the Adornment and Decoration of their Temples, or to the Expences of their ſolemn Plays and Sacrifices; it being originally exacted from Fines and Forfeitures in Caſes Criminal and Civil.

THE ſecond Branch of the uſual Revenues of the Church conſiſts in Donations of Lands and Poſſeſſions. ROMULUS in the firſt Diviſion of the Lands of *Rome* †, reſerv'd a conſiderable Share to be apply'd to the Expences of the Sacrifices and other religious Duties, (but theſe Lands were

* De Divin. l. 1. c. 58. † Varro, l. 5.
‡ Feſt. in verbo Sacramentum. Liv. l. 10. c. 23. l. 27. c. 6.
† Dionyſ. p. 62.

after-

afterwards divided in common to the People by TULLUS HOSTILIUS †, upon his acceſſion to the Throne; and the Charges of the publick Sacrifices defray'd out of his paternal Eſtate) but it does not appear that theſe Lands which were excepted out of the general Dividend by ROMULUS, were ever appropriated to the private Revenues of the Clergy, but to the building of Temples, and the ſolemn Services and Sacrifices of their Religion ‡. There is frequent mention made in the *Roman* Story of Lands and Territories conſecrated to particular Gods. But 'tis manifeſt from the Authority of the beſt Writers, that thoſe Lands could be apply'd to no human Uſe whatſoever; much leſs converted to the Gains and Profits of any particular Body of Men ††: they lay fallow and uncultivated, and 'twas eſteem'd the higheſt Irreligion and Sacrilege to turn them to the common uſe of other Lands. Thus the *Romans*, when TARQUIN had plow'd up the Field of *Mars* **, which had been

† Dionyſ. p. 102. ‡ Dionyſ. p. 62.
†† Diod. Sic. p. 425. Cic. de Leg. l. 21. c. 18.
** Dionyſ. p. 213. Liv. l. 2. c. 5.

antiently

antiently dedicated to that God; tho they divided all the reſt of TARQUIN's Goods, yet threw the Corn of that Field into the River; not daring, from a religious Apprehenſion, to make uſe of the Products of a conſecrated Soil ‡.

MY next Conſideration is the Revenues of the Prieſts, which ariſe from the Payment of certain Portions out of the Gains and Labour of the People, which are commonly made to conſiſt of the *Tenths* of their Incomes.

I SHALL firſt examine whether there lay any Obligation upon the *Romans* from their Religion, or the Laws of the Land, of paying ſuch a Proportion out of their Fortunes and Incomes. Secondly, I ſhall examine the Reaſons upon which this Obligation was founded. And laſtly, to what Uſes it was apply'd.

HAD there been any Obligations upon the *Romans* to pay their Tenths, it muſt

‡ Plut. in Pop. p. 183.

have

have extended indifferently to all, which it plainly did not; for why ſhould the *Decimations* made by SYLLA, CRASSUS, and LUCULLUS*, be reckon'd ſo extraordinary, if the reſt of the People had made the ſame Offering†? Why ſhould ſo many Authors barely affirm that there were frequent Conſecrations of the *Tenths*‡? why ſhould not one of any Authority make mention of a ſtanding Law, which enforc'd the payment of Tithes to the whole Community? Nothing is more frequently mention'd than the payment of Tithes by the ** antient Writers; yet not one mentions it as a Cuſtom of univerſal Obligation, but only practis'd upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions: Nor would ſo ſuperſtitious a People as the *Romans* have baniſh'd CAMILLUS‡‡, for vowing the *Tenths* of the Spoil of VEII to APOLLO, if the payment of Tithes had been an Article of their Religion††, or an Inſtitution of

* Plut. in Sylla, p. 866. † Diod. Sic. p. 228.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 26. ** Plut. in Craſſo p. 992. Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. p. 277. Plaut. in Sti.
‡‡ Liv. l. 5. c. 32. Plut. in Cam. p. 141.
†† Victor in Cam. p. 50.

their

their State. For tho there were other Cauſes that concurr'd to his Baniſhment, yet this above all other inflam'd the animoſity of the People againſt him, ὅτι δεκάτου τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, for impoſing Tithes upon the Citizens *; ſo averſe were the People to all theſe kind of Offerings. And CAMILLUS probably forc'd the People to contribute the Tenths of all the Spoils to APOLLO, for the ſame politick Conſideration that CYRUS did upon the like Occaſion, for fear the People ſhould grow rich and ungovernable †. 'Tis true, AURELIUS VICTOR (a modern Author of little Authority) ſays, that originally Tithes were paid to Kings, but by Inſtitution of HERCULES were afterwards paid to the Gods ‡. And even this Paſſage concludes ſtrongly againſt thoſe who aſſert the divine Right of Tithes from the Antiquity and Univerſality of their Application to divine Uſes, ſince they were antiently offer'd up to Kings by the Confeſſion of VICTOR.

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* Plut. ibid. † Herodot. l. 1. c. 17.
‡ De Orig. Romæ.

AS for the Conſecration of Tithes to the Gods by HERCULES, if we ſhou'd allow the Authority of VICTOR, it only extended to EVANDER and his Succeſſors, and never was a Law in force among the *Romans*; for all the conquer'd Provinces paid the Tenths of the annual Products of their Harveſts to the State, and not to the Gods; and the Tenths of the Spoils of War were ſometimes beſtow'd on a ſingle Perſon, who had particularly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Action*.

THE uſual Reaſon for making theſe Oblations to the Gods, and more particularly to HERCULES, was ſometimes from an Opinion that a Conſecration of ſuch a Portion of their Goods, would make their Lives eaſy and happy †: Sometimes from politick Conſiderations of the Envy and Jealouſy ‡ which great Riches is always attended with, and which they wiſely avoided by ſuch a *Decimation* of their For-

* Cic. de Leg. Manil. c. 6. Liv. l. 36. c. 2. Plut. in Corio. p. 397.

† Diod. Sic. p. 228. ‡ Plut. in Quæ. Rom. p. 477.

tunes.

tunes. But I never met with any Hiſtorian, who aſſigns the Maintenance of the Clergy to be the Reaſon of theſe Oblations.

ALL the antient Writers unanimouſly agree in the Application of theſe Offerings to the publick Feaſts and Entertainments of the People*: *Oreſti prandia in ſemitis decuma nomine data honori fuerunt*, ſays CICERO†. Thus SYLLA made a mighty Entertainment to the People, from the Oblation of his Tithes to HERCULES‡; as likewiſe LUCULLUS. And VARRO in MACROBIUS, ſays that the old *Romans* every tenth Day feaſted the People from the Expences of theſe Offerings**. And they were ſo far from being appropriated to the Prieſts of HERCULES, that of two Families, who had the Prieſthood by Deſcent, the one was excluded from thoſe ſolemn Banquets; the other, by the Perſuaſion of APPIUS, transfer'd their hereditary†† Ho-

* Diod. p. 228. Macro. l. 3. c. 12.
† Cic. de Offic. l. 2.
‡ Plut. in Sylla, p. 866.
** Macro. l. 3. c. 12.
†† Ib. c. 6.

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nour to the care of publick Servants ††: which they never would have ſo tamely ſubmitted to, had they enjoy'd ſuch a mighty Income, as the Oblation of the Tenths to HERCULES.

IT may ſeem ſtrange to our Age, where the Appearance of Godlineſs is ſuch a great Gain, that the *Roman* Clergy ſhould ſerve their Gods for nought *; but there will be no Reaſon to wonder, if they conſider that none of their Civil Officers had any Penſions, and that even their private Soldiers fought the Battles of the State without pay, for ſome hundreds of Years after the Foundation of the City. The *Romans* took particular care never to truſt the State in mercenary Hands, and ſeldom liſted any of the poorer Ranks of Citizens in their Armies, but upon great Extremities †. And the Commons, as DIONYSIUS expreſly ſays ‡, were excluded from the Prieſthood

†† Liv. l. 1. Dionyſ. p. 26. Liv. l. 9. c. 29. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 17.

* Dionyſ. p. 66. Liv. l. 4. c. 59.

† Oroſ. l. 4. c. 1. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 51. Liv. l. 1. c. 43.

‡ Dionyſ. p. 63.

in regard of their Poverty; which would have been no Reaſon, had there been any Profits or Revenues belonging to their Order.

AFTER the Subverſion of the Common-wealth, the Emperors (for Prieſtcraft and Tyranny go hand in hand) ſettled large Stipends, Salaries and Endowments upon the Clergy *, and eſtabliſh'd Lands for the Maintenance of the *Veſtal* Virgins ‡. And indeed in all Ages it hath been a current Maxim of arbitrary Princes, to engage the Authority of the Church to ſupport their Tyranny: witneſs the mighty Power and Juriſdiction of the Clergy, under the *Eaſtern* Tyrannies, and their Subjection to all Popular † Governments, both antient and modern, that ever were founded in the World **.

MY next Conſideration ſhall be to examine how NUMA apply'd the Autho-

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* Suet. in Aug. c. 31. ‡ Tacit. l. 4. c. 17.
† Vopiſc. in Aurel. c. 35.
** Frontin. de Cœlo, p. 35. Hygin. p. 206.

rity

rity of the Church to defend the Grandeur of the Monarchy. The People, by their original Conſtitution, had a negative Vote in the Choice of their Magiſtrates, in the paſſing of all Laws, and in the Reſolution of Peace and War *. The Elections of the Magiſtrates before the Inſtitution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, *by* SERVIUS †, lay almoſt wholly in the Power of the People, who out-voted the Nobility by their Numbers. But NUMA, by an artful Policy, curb'd this mighty Privilege of the Commons ‡: for he inſtituted a College of *Augurs*, or *Diviners*, who were to conſult the Gods upon the Creation of their Officers **; and without the Concurrence and Authority of this College, all the publick Reſolutions of the People were void: So that the *Augurs* were a kind of fourth State ††; and, being choſen out of the Nobility, were the Creatures and Dependants of the Kings, and interpos'd their Authority to vacate the Election of any Magiſtrates diſlik'd by the King, with-

* Dionyſ. p. 65, 66.
† Polyb. p. 643.
‡ Liv. l. 1. c. 36.
** Dionyſ. p. 6.
†† Liv. l. 10. c. 6.

out throwing the Odium upon the Regal Power.

THE ſupreme Power of the Reſult, in the enacting all Laws, was likewiſe veſted in the Commons*; which NUMA deſtroy'd by the ſame Policy. 'Tis true, by the antient Conſtitution of *Rome*, the Kings had the ſole Right of propoſing Laws to the People, and conſequently had no need of the *Augurs* to put a Negative upon any Law. But NUMA was too wiſe to hazard the Affection of the People, by refuſing to propoſe any popular Laws, and rather choſe to make uſe of the Authority of the *Augurs* upon a dead-lift, than expoſe his Prerogative to the Hatred of the People. Tho it appears from PLINY†, that NUMA had parted with that Branch of the Regal Power, the ſole Right of Propoſing to the People; for he makes mention of a *Lex Poſthumia*, (and all Laws were denominated from their Propoſers) enacted in the time of NUMA: a Conceſſion which

* Dionyſ. p. 65. † Plin. l. 14. c. 12.

NUMA

NUMA very dextrouſly deſtroy'd by the Authority of his College of *Diviners.*

BY the ſame Artifice he invaded the third Branch of the Peoples Power *, the Right of determining of Peace and War. But in his Nature being averſe to War, and turning the Streams of his Counſels to the peaceful Arts of Government, he took particular care to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of his Right to the Crown †; in order to which Deſign, he added to the unlimited Juriſdiction of the *Augurs* an Inſtitution of a College of *Heralds at Arms* ‡, compos'd of the Nobility, whoſe Province was to judge and determine of the Rights of War and Peace, and were, in other words, the publick Caſuiſts of the State; with ſuch an unbounded Authority, that tho the three States and the ** *Augurs* had concurr'd upon declaring War, yet the *Heralds*, by virtue of their Office, had Power to reverſe their Reſolutions, unleſs the Cauſes of the War appear'd to them to be

* Liv. l. 1. c. 19.
† Serv. ad Æneid. p. 1469.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 97.
** Ib. p. 98.

juſt and honourable. This Order was founded upon the ſame Principle with the former, That if the People had reſolv'd upon War, againſt his Inclination, he might ſtill have a Reſerve to apply to in order to prevent it.

THAT theſe were the Conſiderations upon which NUMA founded the Inſtitution of the *Augurs*, is apparent from the Authority of CICERO*; who ſays expreſly, *retinentur Auſpicia ad opinionem Vulgi, & ad magnas Reipublicæ utilitates* †: and in another Place, *ut multos inutiles comitiatus probabiles moræ impedirent*. Beſides the Power of diſſolving the Aſſemblies of the People, and annulling their Votes and Decrees, the Monarchy deriv'd other Advantages from the Creation of theſe two Orders: For by making the Conſent and Approbation of the Gods (conſulted by their *Diviners*) neceſſary to the Succeſs of all their publick Counſels and Undertakings; and the

* Cic. de Leg. l. 2. c. 13.
† Cic. de Div. l. 2. c. 39. l. 2. c. 18, 35. De Leg. l. 3.

Nobility

Nobility claiming this Right of inquiring into the Will of Heaven, by virtue of a pretended Sanctity inherent to their Characters; the Commons were excluded the great Magiſtracies of the State, under a Pretence that they had not the *Auſpicia*; that is, that they had not ſuch an imaginary Holineſs as was neceſſary to engage the Gods to give manifeſt Tokens of their Approbation or Diſlike upon their Election, or upon any Expedition to be undertaken by a *Plebeian* Magiſtrate *.

THIS politick Device of the Nobility laſted for ſome Ages after the Expulſion of the Kings, till the Commons grew wiſer, and diſcover'd the Juggle. But of the Declenſion of theſe two Orders I ſhall treat hereafter, when I come to examine the Cauſes of the Diſſolution of the Ariſtocracy of *Rome*.

THESE politick Orders were the great Springs and Wheels upon which this mighty Fabrick turn'd: But as all natural Bo-

* Liv. l. 4. c. 6.

dies are born with Seeds of Diſſolution in their own Frame, ſo theſe great artificial Bodies, Common-wealths, are founded with κύρης σύμφυτοι, ſuch * original Flaws in their firſt Conſtitution, as, in ſome Periods of time, corrupt and diſſolve them.

THE Guard of the *Roman* Monarchy was the Clergy and the Nobility, whoſe Intereſts were cloſely interwoven with thoſe of the Royalty; which is the only Ballance in Nature, that a limited Conſtitution of Monarchy can be founded on. This was wiſely thought on by ROMULUS; but he took ſome falſe Meaſures, which were the leading ſteps to change the Form of Government from Monarchick to Popular; the moſt conſiderable of which were, The making the Monarchy elective; allowing ſuch a Share of Property to the Commons; increaſing the number of People by naturalizing all Foreigners, and truſting Arms in their hands.

* Dionyſ. p. 25

THE firſt Defect in the Conſtitution of the Monarchy was the making it Elective. 'Tis true Elective Monarchies are for the Intereſt and Advantage of the People, but are not calculated to ſupport the Authority and Grandeur of the Crown. The People by the favour of elective Empires, avoid all the weak Reigns of Minors and Women, Succeſſions of diſſolute and dègenerate Princes, and Conteſts about diſputed Titles and Pretenſions, which make ſuch Convulſions in Hereditary Governments: And the Crown being conferr'd upon Virtue and Merit, not on the raſh reſult of Fortune and Deſcent, muſt produce a more illuſtrious Succeſſion of Princes. Witneſs the mild and happy Reigns of the Kings of *Rome**, who came to the Crown by the free Choice and Conſent of the People, all renown'd for Juſtice, Virtue, and the honeſt Arts of Government: Whilſt of all the *Roman* Emperors that inherited the Monarchy by Succeſſion and Deſcent, two only had the Reputation of virtuous and moderate Princes.

* Spartian. in Severo, c. 21.

FOR

FOR a Proof of this Aſſertion, that Elective Monarchy is leſs dangerous to the Liberties of the People, I need only obſerve, there is not one Inſtance in antient or modern Story of an abſolute Elective Monarchy, except that of *Rome* under the Emperors, and that of *Ægypt* under the *Mamalucks*, which were both military Governments, and the *Popedom* which is an Eccleſiaſtical one: and 'tis generally obſerv'd, that Elective Empires end in Commonwealths, and Hereditary ones in Tyrannies and arbitrary Governments. Theſe are the happy Effects of elective Monarchies, with regard to the Liberties of the Subjects: But they want Force and Vigour from their inward Conſtitution, to preſerve the Authority of the Regal Rights, much leſs to encreaſe and enlarge the Prerogative of the Crown.

MEN advanc'd from a private Fortune to this great Station, retain their firſt impreſſions of Freedom, which the Condition of a private Life taught them under the Dominion of their Predeceſſors; which incline

incline them to protect thoſe Rights and Privileges as Sovereigns, which they contended for as Subjects. And a wiſe People ſeldom make choice of a Man to command them, the experience of whoſe private Life has not warranted the Moderation of his Reign; and none are ſo likely to make good Governours, as they who in their private Capacities have obſerv'd the different Tempers and Inclinations of the People, upon the different Conduct and Genius of Princes: the true Vein and Current of a Nation being generally conceal'd from Kings by crouds of deſigning Miniſters, and Adulation of ſervile Flatterers. Theſe Conſiderations may probably ſway with ſome Princes, not to invade the Liberties and Laws of the Nation: But moſt elective Kings are deterr'd from ſuch an attempt, by the difficulty of the Undertaking: they rarely have Strength to put in force ſuch Reſolutions.

HEREDITARY Princes, whoſe Authority has been eſtabliſh'd by a long Succeſſion of their Anceſtors, ſtrengthen'd with Leagues and Alliances abroad, ſupported

ported by mighty Dependances at home, of thoſe who ſhare with them in the Government, or puſh on their Fortunes at the expence of the Publick, cultivated by the ſame courſe of Meaſures and Counſels, and made Sacred by the force of Cuſtom and the habit of obeying, may aſpire with all theſe helps to abſolute Dominion with ſome probable grounds of Succeſs. But elective Monarchs are deſtitute of all theſe great Springs of Power and Authority; and rarely ſucceed in ſuch an Attempt, without a lucky hit or an extraordinary concurrence of Accidents and Cauſes; but generally loſe Ground, and decline every Succeſſion, by reaſon of the Authority of the People, who being veſted with the Right of diſpoſing the Crown, force every new Prince they advance, to plume his Prerogative; and increaſe their Privileges to a Degree inconſiſtent with the Sovereign Power. Nor can the Nobility (the beſt Guards of Monarchy) in ſuch a Conſtitution be ſo wholly devoted to the King; for they muſt engage the Votes and Intereſts of the People, by all the Arts of Popularity, if ever they expect to have

their

their Pretenſions to the Crown upon a Vacancy, ſeconded by the Favour and Concurrence of the Multitude.

BESIDES theſe Limitations and Bounds of elective Monarchs, they have a nearer Intereſt not to invade the Liberties of their Country, which is the good of their Families; for the Crown not deſcending to the next of Blood, they are certain that as much as they add to the Grandeur of the Monarchy, ſo much they add to the Slavery of their Poſterity, who are to be private Men. And ſhould an elective Prince form a deſign of making the Crown Hereditary, he will certainly be oppos'd by the Commonalty, whoſe Right of Election is violated, and by the Nobility, whoſe Hopes of ſucceeding are deſtroy'd.

FROM theſe Conſiderations I am inclin'd to think, that this Conſtitution of the *Roman* Monarchy was a fault in the firſt Concoction, and was the original of the ſucceeding Laws in favour of the People. But whether it was firſt deſign'd by ROMULUS, or inſtituted by the *Romans* after

after his Death, is uncertain; tho I am apt to believe that ROMULUS having no Children, as in his life time he † gave Liberty to ALBA, which descended to him by the Death of his Grand-father NUMITOR; so after his Death he design'd at least to have left the Election of their Kings to the People, without appointing any Successor of his own Nomination. Whoever was the Author of this Institution, 'tis certain, that it was the great moving Cause of all their following Concessions and Privileges to the People.

ROMULUS their first King, to reward the good Affections of his * new Subjects, made an equal Distribution among the People of the Territory belonging to *Rome* ‡, except of the Crown and Church-Lands; and as he grew greater, divided all the conquer'd Lands among the Multitude, (a Custom follow'd by most of the succeeding Kings.) This Donation was a false

† Plut. in Rom. p. 61.
* Dionys. p. 62. Plin. l. 18. c. 2.
‡ Varro de re rus. l. 1. c. 10.

Step,

Step, never to be reconcil'd to the true Intereſt of Sovereign Power, from that eternal Principle, that *Equality of Poſſeſſion, makes Equality of Power:* And whenever the Ballance of Property ſways to the People, the Monarchy naturally reſolves into a Popular Government.

THE third Fault was the making a limited Monarchy, a Government for Increaſe, in order to which the Numbers of the People muſt be enlarg'd, and the Sword put in their hands; for Conqueſts abroad muſt be gain'd by the Vigour of a brave * *Militia* at home; and a brave *Militia* muſt be form'd of Men ſpirited by Freedom, Plenty, and Property. Conqueſts abroad muſt be preſerv'd by Force of numbers of People; and numbers of People can be gain'd only by Naturalization of Foreigners, who never will be tempted from their native Seats, unleſs allur'd by the Eaſe and Liberty of the Government. Thus the generous Ambition of extending their

* Dionyſ. p. 60. p 54. 31. Liv. l. 34. c. 31.

Em-

Empire, made the Kings of *Rome* ſacrifice the Rights of the Monarchy to the Liberties of the People; for without Freedom and Property they found it impoſſible to compoſe a brave or a numerous *Militia*, both which are the genuine Roots of a Commonwealth: for a People that have Property in Poſſeſſion, and Swords in their hands, rarely ſubmit to the Dominion of one. Independence being the Intereſt of the many, and Monarchy but of the few; by how much greater the number of the People is, by ſo much ſtronger is the guard of Liberty.

THESE were the natural Seeds of the Generation of the *Roman* Commonwealth, concurring with many other accidental Cauſes, ſuch as the Example of moſt of the neighbouring States of * *Greece* and *Italy*, who were generally Republicks. For changes of Government are often deriv'd by imitation into the Humours and Cuſtoms of a Nation; and the *Jews* † choſe a Monarchy, becauſe the People round

* Dionyſ. 287. † 1 Sam. c. 8.

them

them were all under that Conſtitution: And the late Revolutions in *England* were in ſome manner owing to the Example of *Holland*, and other foreign Commonwealths.

ANOTHER Cauſe was, their Kings' leaving no Iſſue behind him, (at leaſt of Age and Abilities to command) who, by the numbers of his Father's Dependants and Retainers, might have pretended to the Crown, and made it hereditary.

AND laſt of all, the Moderation and Virtue of their Kings (which was owing to the Conſtitution of Elective Monarchy) who all ſucceſſively vied in Emulation who ſhould be the greateſt Benefactors to the People.

IN this Place it will not be improper to take a ſhort Survey by what Paces and Steps this great Revolution, from a Kingly Government to an Ariſtocracy, was brought about in *Rome*.

ROMULUS made the firſt Inſtitution * of dividing the publick and conquer'd Lands among the People, and afterwards made *Alba* a free State; which ſet the *Romans* † a longing for a Commonwealth, (as PLUTARCH †† obſerves) which they eſtabliſh'd upon his Death, but had not Strength to continue, from their own Diviſions and the unſettl'd Poſture of their own Affairs; which made way for the Promotion of NUMA‡, who divided the publick Lands of the City among the Citizens who had no Lots, and ** committed a great Overſight in dividing the Chief Prieſthood from the Kingly Power; it having been veſted before in ROMULUS, and afterwards by the Policy of the *Roman* Emperors inſeparably annex'd to the Crown. NUMA likewiſe diſbanded his Guards. HOSTILIUS divided all the Church and Crown Lands among the

* Dionyſ. p. 62. † Cic. de Rep. l. 2.
†† Plut. in Rom. p. 61, 62.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 92. Plut. in Num. p. 129.
** Meſſala Corvin. Liv. l. 1. c. 20. Plut. in Num. p. 117. Cic. Phil. l. 5. c. 6.

People,

People, and inſtituted or confirm'd their Rights of hearing all Appeals; which was making them Sovereign Judges in the laſt Reſort.

AND tho ANCUS left things in the ſame State he found them, and TARQUIN made ſome Steps to recover the Grandeur of the Monarchy by the Addition of * one hundred new Senators (*Senatus majeſtatem numero ampliavit*, ſays FLORUS) and adorn'd the Imperial Dignity with the Enſigns of Royalty, and the outward Forms of Greatneſs; yet he debas'd † the Majeſty of his Character by ſubmitting his Title to the People, and pleading his Cauſe before them; which was owning the ſupreme Authority to be lodg'd in them.

BUT SERVIUS being advanc'd to the ‡ Throne by the Favour of the Commons, againſt the Will of the Nobility, gave the finiſhing Stroke to the Ruin of the Mo-

* Dionyſ. p. 48. Florus, l. 1. c. 5. Dionyſ. p. 145, 146, 152, 160, 162.

† Plut. de fort. Rom. p. 574.

‡ Dionyſ. p. 160, 170.

narchy, by diſpoſſeſſing * the *Patricians* of all the publick Lands they had engroſs'd, and diſtributing them to the People; by paying the Debts of the Commons; by erecting Courts of Judicature independent of the Crown; and by the Inſtitution of ſuch † Laws as eſtabliſh'd an Equality between the two Orders, in the Deciſion of civil Controverſies, and in their Contributions to the publick Charges. 'Tis true, he ſtrengthen'd the *Patrician* Intereſt by introducing an inequality of Suffrages in their Favour: But he quickly repented his Conduct, and apply'd himſelf ſo entirely to the Good of the People, that the Nobility were alarm'd at it; and, in conjunction with the new Pretender TARQUIN, form'd a Deſign to dethrone him: And when (by his great Authority with the Commons) they miſcarry'd in an open Attempt of depoſing him, they cut him off by a barbarous Aſſaſſination, in the midſt of that glorious Deſign he had form'd of introducing an equal

* Dionyſ. p. 166. † P. 180, 181, 201.

Com-

Common-wealth. Thus TULLIUS ‡ plainly inclin'd the Ballance of Power and Property from the Nobility to the Commons.

AFTER his Death, TARQUIN uſurp'd the Throne in a lawleſs manner, without the uſual † Forms of Election and Conſecration, to the Diſlike of the Nobility, and an utter Abhorrence and Deteſtation of the Commons, for the barbarous Murder of their great Patron and Benefactor SERVIUS: And the whole Courſe of his Reign was anſwerable to his beginning; he invaded all the Privileges and Liberties of the *Senate* and People, and exercis'd his Tyrannies with all the Inhumanity and Barbarity imaginable, without engaging any Party to ſupport him, or making uſe of one *Order* to deſtroy the other, that he might with more eaſe oppreſs all. His foreign Guards, inſtead of protecting him from the popular Fury, ſerv'd only to inflame the general Abhorrence of his Tyrannies, without being an Over-ballance to the People. But his arbitrary Govern-

‡ Dionyſ. p. 180, † Ib. p. 181, 201.

ment being ſettled upon no ſolid Foundation, could be of no long ſtanding; the Senate wanting nothing but a favourable Conjuncture, and the Commons nothing but a warm Leader, to break out into open Rebellion. The Rape of LUCRETIA enflam'd the general Diſcontents, and rais'd ſuch a Storm, as ended in the Expulſion of TARQUIN and his Family, and the Diſſolution of the Monarchy.

THUS I have trac'd this great Revolution from its Original, in its remoteſt and moſt diſtant Cauſes, down to the laſt Period of the Monarchy under TARQUIN. The natural Cauſes of it were the mighty Conceſſions and Privileges conferr'd on the Commons by the Bounty of their Kings, and ſuch a ſhare of Property as over-ballanc'd the Poſſeſſions of the Kings and the Nobility together, which begets an Independance; after which there can be no Cauſe in Nature aſſign'd for Obedience and Subjection. So that the Ballance of Dominion being veſted in the Commons, the Monarchy of courſe muſt die a natural Death. And to finiſh the Revolution, the

Nobility diſoblig'd by TARQUIN, cloſing with the People; and the Army (the laſt Refuge of Tyranny) being compos'd of Men of Property, and by conſequence conſpiring with the National Intereſt, TARQUIN had no Reſerve to appeal to, but loſt his Crown without ſtriking a Blow: And the Monarchy reſolv'd into an Ariſtocracy; and that into a Democracy; and that too relaps'd into a Monarchy, as the Ballance of Lands vary'd from one Order to another.

THESE Periods and Revolutions of Empires are the natural Tranſmigrations of Dominion, from one Form of Government to another; and make the common Circle in the Generation and Corruption of all States. The Succeſſion of theſe Changes POLYBIUS knew from Experience, but not from their true natural Cauſes: for he plainly derives * theſe Alterations from moral Reaſons; ſuch as Vices and Corruptions, the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of their Governors, which made the People impa-

* Polyb. l. 6.

tient of the Yoke, and fond of new Forms; and not from the Change of the only true Ground and Foundation of Power, *Property*. To confute this great Man, I only appeal to the Examples of the famous Monarchies of *Rome* (under the Emperors) and of *Turkey*; which being founded on the Ballance of Land, after ſo many Succeſſions of effeminate and tyrannical Princes, ſtood firm; and the People, provok'd often by their Oppreſſions, rebell'd againſt the Monarch, but never againſt the Monarchy: for while the Root of Power continues, the Government will laſt, tho the Branches are lopp'd off. But the firſt *Roman* Empire not being founded on this ſteddy Ballance, the People, who were in poſſeſſion of it, wanted nothing but Oppreſſion to make them exert their Power, and nothing but a Tyrant to ſet them free.

THUS it appears that Land is the true Center of Power, and that the Ballance of Dominion changes with the Ballance of Property; as the Needle in the Compaſs ſhifts its Points juſt as the great Magnet

Magnet in the Earth changes its Place. This is an eternal Truth, and confirm'd by the Experience of all Ages and Governments; and ſo fully demonſtrated by the Great HARRINGTON in his *OCEANA*, that 'tis as difficult to find out new Arguments for it, as to reſiſt the Cogency of the old.

BUT to return from my Digreſſion, in the next place I ſhall examine what Methods the *Romans* took to hinder the Reſtoration of TARQUIN, and preſerve their Liberties.

THEIR firſt ſtep was their ſolemn Abjuration of the Regal Title * and Office, (*abjuratio Regii nominis & poteſtatis*, ſays † OROSIUS) made by the whole Body of the *Roman* People, in the name of themſelves and their Poſterity; a Precedent which they copy'd from the ‡ *Greek* Commonwealths, who after the Expulſion of their Tyrants, enter'd into ſolemn Oaths

* Dion. Caſſ. p. 470. Dionyſ. p. 205, 207. Plut. p. 178.
† Lib. 2. c. 4.
‡ Liv. l. 2. Appian. in præfat.

and

and Engagements to defend their Liberty. This was a wiſe Counſel of the *Romans*, and in the greateſt Diſtreſs of their * Affairs, made them ſuffer the laſt Extremities rather than hearken to any Overtures of reſtoring their Tyrants: ſo ſacred and binding was the Obligation of an Oath to that great and virtuous People.

2. AN Act of general † Indemnity and Oblivion, which took in all thoſe who join'd with TARQUIN, more from an Apprehenſion and Dread of Puniſhment from the State, for having favour'd the illegal Uſurpations of the Tyranny, than from any perſonal Affection or Engagement to his Cauſe.

3. THE ſevere Puniſhment of the *Conſul*'s Sons, and the reſt of the Nobility, who had conſpir'd to reſtore the TARQUINS: for however Monarchies or Tyrannies may ſubſiſt, Commonwealths can never ſtand without a rigorous Execution of that great

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* Dionyſ. p. 49. † Ib. p. 213.

Sanction

Sanction of their Laws, Rewards and Puniſhments *.

AND laſt of all, the Reſtoration of the popular Laws of SERVIUS, and the Inſtitution of new ones †, together with the Diſtribution of the Goods of TARQUIN among the People, and the Diviſion of all his Lands to the Commons; which, with all the Forfeitures and Confiſcations under ſuch a tyrannical Reign, muſt amount to a mighty Revenue.

THIS made the Breach between the Crown and the People irreparable, by involving the whole Community in one common Guilt; and widen'd the popular Ballance, by multiplying the Property of the State into ſo many Hands; which gave the People ſuch a degree of Power, as made the Return of TARQUIN, by any inward Convulſion, impoſſible: for 'tis ridiculous to imagine, that any free, brave, independent People, could have the leaſt Shadow of Intereſt to ſubject their Rea-

* Macchiv. l. 2. c. 16. † Dionyſ. p. 209, 213, 216.

ſons,

ſons, Lives and Liberties to the arbitrary Commands and Reſolutions of a private Will, inſtead of being rul'd by Laws of their own making, Magiſtrates of their own Creation, and a Form of Government of their own chuſing.

THESE popular Conceſſions of the Nobility, effectually excluded TARQUIN and the Monarchy; but were the leading Cauſes of the Deſtruction of their new Ariſtocracy, which ſhall be the Subject of my next Conſideration.

I HAVE often wondred that the *Romans*, inſtead of ſettling a Democracy after the Expulſion of their Kings, ſhould make choice of an Ariſtocracy; conſidering that the Revolution was brought about by the * People, and not by the Nobility, who had been utterly ruin'd by the Tyranny of TARQUIN, and were in no condition to make head againſt his arbitrary Conduct; much leſs by their Numbers, and their Authority, to influence ſuch a mighty

* Dionyſ. p. 182, 202. Liv. l. 1. c. 53.

turn

turn of Affairs. Their Share in the Revolution, was no more than breaking the Ice, and inflaming the People to take up Arms; but without their Concurrence they had infallibly periſh'd in the Attempt. All that can be ſaid in vindication of the People, is, that they were unus'd to command; and from the habit of obeying, willingly ſubmitted to any Conſtitution which the Nobility impos'd on them; or elſe for want of a Demagogue to form a popular Model, or from ignorance of Union, were not ſenſible of their true Force and Strength; or elſe their Terror and Apprehenſions from abroad of TARQUIN and his Return, made them aſſent to the Dominion of the Senate, rather than hazard all by an unſeaſonable Diviſion at home. But whatever the Conſiderations were, 'tis plain they lodg'd the Sovereign Power in the Senate and the two Conſuls, who were veſted with all the Royal Authority: *Omnia jura Regum tenuere primi Conſules*, ſays * LIVY. But when the Storm of TARQUIN blew over, and their

* Liv. l. 2. c. 1.

Appre-

Apprehenſions of foreign Invaſions ceas'd, they grew quickly ſenſible of their Error, in ſurrendring the Government into ſo few Hands; and in ſhort time turn'd their new Maſters out of their Seats, and by degrees moulded the Government into a more popular Model.

THE Ariſtocracy was founded upon the ſhatter'd Ballance of the Monarchy, and compos'd of the Nobility, unequal either by their Numbers, Poſſeſſions or Authority, to the Riches and Greatneſs of the Commons, who had been growing many Ages, by the Lenity and Indulgence of the former Reigns, and the new Conceſſion of the Senate, after the Expulſion of the laſt Kings, (which I have already mention'd;) ſo that the Government ſtood on no ſolid Foundation of real Power, and only depended upon an imaginary Ballance of Authority, deriv'd from the Inſtitution of theſe two Laws.

1. THE Excluſion of the * Commons from all Places of Command, under a Pre-

* Liv. l. 4. c. 5.

tence

tence that they were not qualify'd for the Right of *Divination*, which was neceſſary to the obtaining all the great Magiſtracies. And,

2. THE Inſtitution of the **Dictatorian* Power, which was an Expedient contriv'd by the Nobility to deſtroy the Right of Appeals, confirm'd to the People by the *Valerian* Law; which this Magiſtracy abſolutely ſubverted, and got an unlimited Juriſdiction in all criminal and civil Caſes, in the laſt Reſort, without any Appeal to the People. But theſe Laws being founded againſt the true Ballance of the Commonwealth, wanted Force and Strength to ſupport the Dominion of the *Patricians*; nor had the *Patricians* Authority and Power to ſupport theſe Laws againſt the irreſiſtible Greatneſs of their Rivals, the Commons, who would obey no longer than the Councils and Reſolutions of the Senate were directed to the publick Good of the whole Community. For when the Commons ſaw Pretences of one kind, and

* Dionyſ. p. 246, 284.

Actions

Actions of another; when they beheld the Senate to be govern'd by their private Factions and Intereſts, violating their own Laws and Liberties, exerciſing Power with all the Inhumanity and Barbarity imaginable, handling their Debtors without Mercy, and impriſoning them for not paying * Money taken up at unreaſonable Intereſt, the Debtors (not the ſeventh part of the People) in conjunction with part of the Senate, and the whole Order of the Commons, kindl'd ſuch a Flame as ended in the Diſſolution of the Ariſtocracy, and the Settlement of an equal Commonwealth. The Cauſes from which this Revolution was deriv'd, ſhall be the Subject of my next Conſideration.

A MAN who would take a Survey of the original Principles of this ſecond Change of Government, muſt take wing from a riſing Ground, and mount up to thoſe remoter and more diſtant Cauſes,

* Dionyſ. p. 288.

which

which inſenſibly and by degrees influenc'd this mighty Revolution, *viz.*

THE Decay of the Power and Authority of the *Patricians*, under ſo many Succeſſions of Kings; their viſible Declenſion under SERVIUS; and the almoſt utter Ruin of the Order, under the Tyranny of TARQUIN: And,

THE proportionable Growth and Increaſe of the Commons by the addition of ſo many Privileges and Immunities to their Order; their great Poſſeſſions, the Plenty of their Fortunes, their Independance on the Nobility; of all which, Power and Dominion is but the natural Reſult.

THESE two former Cauſes I have diſcours'd of at large: the more immediate Cauſe, was the Diſſolution of the Monarchy by the joint Counſels and united Intereſts of the whole Body of the People; this made them Reaſoners in matters of Politicks and Government, and impatient of any Inſolence and Oppreſſion; this

taught them a Refuge to appeal to from the Tyranny of any other Governors, and made them diſdain any other Subjection, than to the Empire of the * Laws; the filling up of the vacant Places in the Senate † with Commoners, who muſt of courſe be more warmly concern'd for the Intereſts of the People than hereditary Nobles.

THE Right of electing the Senate ‡ conferr'd on them by BRUTUS, after the Expulſion of the Kings; which the People continu'd in ** poſſeſſion of till the firſt Creation of the *Cenſors*. This gave the People an †† Advantage of chuſing more popular Members into the Senate, and was perhaps the Reaſon which engag'd ſuch a ſtrong Party in the Senate to oppoſe the unjuſt Incroachments of the *Patricians*, and to favour the juſt Pretenſions of the People.

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* Dionyſ. p. 213.
† Liv. l. 2. c. 1.
‡ Liv. l. 4. c. 4.
** Cic. pro Sextio, c. 65.
†† Feſtus.

THESE

THESE were the natural Cauſes of the final Period of this Government, with which ſome other Accidents concurr'd: as, 1. The Conjuncture of a foreign War; which the Senate being unable to manage, in ſuch a diſtracted State, they conſented more eaſily to the Demands of the Commons. 2. The invincible Courage and matchleſs Virtue of the old *Romans*, and their diſdain of Servitude, from the force of Cuſtom, or the Impreſſions of Education. All theſe Cauſes conſpir'd to make the Ariſtocracy an eaſy Triumph to the People.

THUS the weak Conſtitution of this Government, not founded on the true Center of Dominion, Land, nor on any ſtanding Foundation of Authority or Reverence, nor rivetted in the Eſteem and Affections of the People; and being attack'd by the ſtrong Paſſion, general Intereſt, and joint Forces of the People, mouldred away of courſe, and pin'd of a lingring Conſumption, till it was totally ſwallow'd up by the prevailing Faction,

and the Nobility were moulded into the Maſs of the People.

IN the next place, I ſhall examine upon what Laws and Orders the popular Frame of Government was erected, and by what Policies and Inſtitutions ſecur'd from a Relapſe into any of the old Forms.

THE firſt Blow given to the Ariſtocracy, was the Reciſion of the Debts to the * Commons, which weakned the Intereſt of the Nobility, by taking off the great Dependance of the inferior Rank of the People upon them.

THE ſecond was the Erection of the † *Tribunes* and other *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, for the Security and Protection of the Commons, with a ſacred Authority and negative Vote upon all the Proceedings of the Senate.

THE Inſtitution of this Magiſtracy of the People, beſides all the other Advan-

* Dionyſ. p. 299.

† Dionyſ. p. 303. Liv. l. 2. c. 33.

tages

tages deriv'd from it to the Commons, united the whole Body of the People under the general Conduct of Leaders and Demagogues of their own Order, made their * Counſels ſteddy, and their Reſolutions unanimous; and took off that Impreſſion of ſingle Fear, which the Commons had of the *Patricians*, from the Ignorance of Union; was a certain Refuge to appeal to, for the Redreſs of all their Grievances; and taught them to make regular Advances and Approaches, to the Deſtruction of the Ariſtocracy.

THE third was the Power of propoſing and debating † Laws, which the Commons aſſum'd by virtue of their new Magiſtrates, whom they advanc'd at laſt to a Power of enacting Laws, without the Authority of the Senate.

THE fourth was the uſurping a ‡ Right to try the Nobility for Crimes committed

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* Dionyſ. p. 292.

† Dionyſ. p. 319, 540. Liv. l. 3. c. 54. l. 8. c. 12.

‡ Dionyſ. p. 341.

againſt the State; which was a Security wiſely provided for by the People, to ſoften the abſolute Power of the *Dictator*, who by this Law was accountable to the People, after the Reſignation of his Office, for Severities exercis'd againſt them in the time of his Juriſdiction. This likewiſe confirm'd the old Law of Appeals to the People from the Magiſtrates, which had been dexterouſly deſtroy'd by the Nobility, by introducing the *Dictatorian* Power.

THE fifth was regaining an equality of Suffrages in the * Elections of their own Magiſtrates, and in the enacting of their Laws; a Right which they formerly enjoy'd in the *Comitia Curiata*, but which they loſt † in the *Comitia Centuriata*, introduc'd by SERVIUS TULLIUS, and recover'd again in the Trial of CORIOLANUS by the *Tributa Comitia*.

THE ſixth was the obtaining a ſtanding Body of Laws, collected from the wiſe

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* Dionyſ. p. 342, 445. † Liv. l. 3. c. 33.

Inſti-

Inſtitutions of the *Grecian* ‡ Commonwealths. This Syſtem of Laws preſcrib'd the bounds of Right and Wrong, and regulated the Proceedings of their Courts of Judicature; whereas formerly all Controverſies between Man and Man were decided by the arbitrary Will of the Conſul, without any known Forms or eſtabliſh'd Methods of judging.

SEVENTHLY, the excluding the *Diviners* from interpoſing their Authority and * Juriſdiction in the Debates and Reſolutions of any popular Aſſemblies: for whereas by their antient Conſtitution, no Election of any Magiſtrate, nor any publick Determination was valid, till ratify'd by their Approbation, under this Pretence they oppos'd all the juſt Rights and Pretenſions of the People. To deſtroy therefore the negative Vote of the *Diviners*, the *Tribunes* contriv'd an Expedient to inſtitute a new Form of Aſſembling, which they call'd the *Tributa Comitia*, wherein the *Augurs* † were not allow'd to conſult

‡ Dionyſ. p. 463. * Ib. p. 441. † Ib. p. 446.

the Gods; and by conſequence the People were left abſolute Maſters of their own Proceedings and Reſolutions.

EIGHTHLY, The *Agrarian* Law; which, tho the People never perfectly obtain'd, yet they got large Shares of the conquer'd Lands into their Poſſeſſion, either by Allotments to the Citizens at home, or by planting Colonies in the Enemies Territories abroad; which confirm'd and kept up the popular Ballance againſt the Encroachments of the Nobility.

NINTHLY, The mighty Growth and Increaſe of the numbers of the People, occaſion'd by Laws * prohibiting the barbarous Practice of expoſing their Children; by manumitting their Slaves, and enrolling them in the Liſt of their † free Citizens; by the Inſtitution of ſuch Laws as compell'd every *Roman* Citizen to ‡ marry at

* Dionyſ. p. 66, 428. † Ib. p. 428.
‡ Plut. in Cam. p. 235. Paneg. Maxim. & Conſt. p. 448. Feſtus in verbo Uxorium.

ſuch

ſuch a determinate Age, under ſevere Penalties: And laſtly, by the promiſcuous * Naturalization of all Foreigners.

TO the Growth of the Multitude of the People may be attributed the Growth of their Power; for the numbers of People are the true Guards of Liberty, and always oppoſite in Intereſt, and an overmatch in Power to any aſpiring Faction. This Acceſſion of Strength to the Commons, together with their warlike Temper, inflam'd by perpetual Victory abroad, ſpirited them with a generous Senſe of Freedom, and made them diſdain Subjection to the Dominion of the few.

TENTHLY, The repealing the Law, ‡ which forbad a common Intercourſe of Marriages between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; which rooted out that fatal Diſtinction between the two Orders, which had kindled ſo many Flames, and rais'd ſuch Storms in the State; but which being

* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9. Dionyſ. p. 66, 110.

‡ Liv. l. 4. c. 6.

now

now repeal'd, eſtabliſh'd the whole Community on an equal foot of Liberty: for as * LIVY very well obſerves, *Omnia diſcrimina quibus ordines diſcernantur, libertate & concordia æquè imminuenda ſunt.*

THIS promiſcuous Communion of Marriages encreas'd both Orders, not only in Alliance but Intereſt; and by degrees form'd them into one Body: for whereas formerly the Nobility, by virtue of an imaginary Excellency peculiar to their Families, challeng'd the ſole Right of *Divination*, and conſequently engroſs'd all the great Poſts of Command; this Law introduc'd ſuch a Mixture and Confuſion of Blood, as cut off that Pretence, and made way for the eaſy Reception of the

ELEVENTH Law, which gave the Commons a Right to be † elected into the Civil Government of the State, to be *Conſuls*, *Dictators*, *Prieſts*, and in courſe of time to be equally admitted to all the great

* Liv. l. 30. c. 54. l. 34. c. 35. † Ib. l. 6. c. 42.

Dig-

Dignities and Offices of the Commonwealth.

THE Nobility being thus moulded into the Maſs of the People, and both Orders entitled to a common Right of enjoying the ſame Privileges and Dignities, the next care of the People was to ſecure the preſent Settlement, by making timely Proviſion, That no ſingle Man, or Order of Men, by their Riches, Poſſeſſions or Authority, ſhould ſo over-ballance the reſt of the Community, as to aſpire to abſolute Dominion. In order to which, they made theſe following Inſtitutions.

1. THE *Licinian* Law, which limited the Poſſeſſions of all private Men to * five hundred Acres of Land; which eſtabliſh'd the great Ballance of the Commonwealth, and would have render'd it immortal, had the Law been effectually put in execution.

2. THE *Cinian* Law, which prohibited † the payment of Fees and Penſions to

* Liv. l. 6. c. 35, 42. † Cic. de Senec. c. 4.

all

all *Patrons* and Advocates: Whereas before the enacting of this Law, * the People were tributary to the great Men and the Senators, who were the only Lawyers of the State: *Vectigalis jam*, ſays † LIVY, *& ſtipendiaria Plebs Senatui cœperat eſſe.*

3. THE *Flaminian* Law, which enjoin'd that no *Senator* ſhould poſſeſs any ‡ Ship of conſiderable Burden; which hinder'd them from enriching themſelves by the Gain of foreign Trade and Commerce.

4. THE Inſtitution of the ** *Leges Vſurariæ*, or the Laws reſtraining Uſury within moderate Bounds. The *Romans* had found by Experience the miſchievous Conſequence of high Intereſt for †† Money, and wiſely ſunk it, firſt to one *per Cent.* and then reduc'd it one half lower; and at ‡‡ laſt utterly aboliſh'd all Uſury. Theſe Laws (as LIVY *** remarks) were *haudquaquam Patribus lætæ:* for

* Tac. Ann. l. 11. c. 5.
† L. 34. c. 4.
‡ Liv. l. 21. c. 63.
** Ib. l. 7. c. 16, 27.
†† Tac. Ann. l. 6. c. 16.
‡‡ Appian. p. 645. Edit. Amſt. 1670. Octavo.
*** L. 7. c. 42.

the

the *Senators*, by the Advantages * they had of commanding the Armies, and other Opportunities, were the mony'd Men who exercis'd this unlawful Trade, and conſequently engag'd a Dependance of the Commons upon them, which the paſſing of this Law deſtroy'd; and likewiſe eſtabliſh'd the National Ballance entirely on Land, which the People had the largeſt Share of.

5. THE Inſtitution of the *Leges Annales*, or the Laws † of determining the Age requiſite for enjoying all the great Magiſtracies of the Commonwealth. This Law cut off the early Ambition of young Men, and was one way to prevent the ſame Perſons from being often in the ſame Dignities.

6. THE Laws againſt canvaſſing and ſolliciting for ‡ Places, which deſtroy'd the Freedom of Elections (of which a Com-

* Dionyſ. p. 232.

† Liv. l. 40. c. 43. Cic. Philip. 5. c. 17. Paneg. Theod. p. 503.

‡ Liv. l. 7. c. 15. l. 9. c. 26. l. 4. c. 25.

monwealth

monwealth ought to be tender) and laid open all the great Honours to Bribery and Corruption, inſtead of Virtue and Merit; which is always fatal to the Liberties of a free State, as LUCAN finely remarks:

* ——— *Lethaliſq; ambitus urbi*
Annua venali referens certamina Campo.

7. THE Laws in force againſt the Continuation of † Magiſtracy; for nothing ſooner diſſolves a Commonwealth than the Continuance of ‡ Authority too long in the ſame Hands. It likewiſe ſubverts that ſucceſſive change of Magiſtracy, which is the ** fundamental Conſtitution of all equal Governments, where the whole Community ought to have their turns of commanding and obeying: *Viciſſitudo imperandi, quod unum exaquandæ libertatis eſt*, ſays †† LIVY.

8. THE Laws againſt Accumulation of ‡‡ Magiſtracy, directed to the ſame Ends

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* L. 1. v. 180. † Liv. l. 7. c. 42. l. 10. c. 13.
‡ Appian. de Bel. Civ. l. 1. ** Plut. in Coriol. p. 389.
†† L. 3. c. 39. ‡‡ Liv. l. 7. c. 42.

with

with the former, leſt the Poſſeſſion of too much Authority ſhould tempt the Magiſtracy to invade the Liberties of the Nation. Plurality of Offices alſo deſtroys the free Rotation of Dignities; and is, as * LIVY truly ſays, *nec jure ullo, nec exemplo tolerabile liberæ Civitati* —— againſt all Right and Equity a dangerous Precedent, and never to be encourag'd and endur'd by a free Government.

9. THE Limitation of thoſe Offices in Time, which were unlimited in Power, as the † *Cenſors* and *Dictators*; and the Limitation of thoſe Offices in ‡ Power, which were unlimited in Time, as the whole Order of the ** *Clergy*, whoſe Juriſdiction was abridg'd under the popular Government (as I have prov'd at large) and little Diſtinction of †† Value and Authority left them after the Publication of the Laws, Rituals and ‡‡ Calendars, the Cuſtody of which they were antiently entruſted with.

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* L. 39. c. 39.
† Liv. l. 9. c. 29. l. 4. c. 24.
‡ Val. Max. l. 2. c. 5.
** Cic. pro Muren. c. 11.
†† Val. Max. l. 2. c. 5.
‡‡ Liv. l. 9. c. 46.

This

This Law was founded upon very good Reaſons; for, as * LIVY ſays, *Maxima Cuſtodia libertatis eſt, ſi magna imperia non ſunt diuturna, & temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non poſſet.*——

10. THE making the fundamental Branches of their † Conſtitution, as the Abolition of the Kingly Office, and the Inſtitution of the Magiſtracy of the Tribunes, ſacred and ‡ unalterable, and confirm'd by the moſt ſolemn Oaths and Engagements of the whole ** Body of the People, in the name of themſelves and their Poſterity. Nor could any of the firſt Rate of Magiſtrates be admitted to †† act, till they had ſworn to ſupport and maintain thoſe and all other Laws of the Commonwealth.

11. THE *Leges Tabellariæ*, or the ‡‡ Inſtitution of voting by the *Ballot*,

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* L. 4. c. 24, 42.
† Dionyſ. p. 205, 207.
‡ Liv. l. 3. c. 55.
** Dionyſ. p. 303, 332, 336.
†† Liv. l. 31. c. 50.
‡‡ Ib. l. 31. c. 5.

which

which was an Expedient found out to preſerve the Freedom of Elections, which were aw'd and influenc'd by the Greatneſs and Authority of the *Senators*. *Leges Tabellarias*, ſays * TULLY, *Populus oppreſſus dominatu & potentia Principum flagitavit*. This ſingle Law repriev'd the Fate of the Commonwealth for an Age, after all the other popular Laws were aboliſh'd by Diſuſe, or openly invaded or broken in upon by the great Men. It was *Vindex Libertatis*, and the only Barrier which hinder'd the Ariſtocracy from ſubverting the popular Government, by engroſſing all the Magiſtracies of the State, which they could have commanded by their Intereſts and Dependencies among the People, if a way had not been contriv'd to conceal the Suffrages of the Commons, and ſcreen them from the Reſentments of their *Patrons*. And in ſuch a Caſe, where the People are left to their own Liberty, they will make choice not of thoſe whom they fear, but of thoſe whom they eſteem and love, for their own Engagement to

* De Leg. l. 3.

the National Intereſt. Nor was the Ballot only reſtrain'd to the Election of Magiſtrates, but at * laſt was indifferently apply'd to all the publick Reſolutions and Determinations of the Aſſemblies of the People.

UPON the Ballance of theſe Orders and Inſtitutions ſtood the mighty Fabrick, immortal from all inward Diſeaſes, and invincible by any foreign Attacks, had the ſame Conduct and Steddineſs of Counſels been directed to the Execution of theſe Laws, as were apply'd to the firſt founding of them. But the original Cauſes and Principles of the Corruption and Diſſolution of this admirable Government, ſhall be the Subject of another Diſcourſe.

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* Cic. de Leg. l. 3.

AN

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

ROMAN Government.

PART II.

IN the former Part of this Diſcourſe, I have attempted to take a ſhort Survey of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution of the *Roman* Commonwealth, together with the various Changes and Revolutions

lutions of their Government, deduc'd from their true and natural Cauſes, down to the laſt great Reformation of their Government, and the Foundation of a more equal Commonwealth: and in the concluſion of the whole, I have endeavour'd to give a brief Account of the chief Laws and Inſtitutions which ſo equally ballanc'd this laſt Eſtabliſhment, by ſuch a wiſe and proportion'd diſtribution of Power among the ſeveral Orders, Councils and Magiſtrates, as render'd it ſo many Ages ſecure and unſhaken by foreign Force or domeſtick Rage.

THE Subject of this following Part is the Declenſion and Decay of the *Roman* Government, with a free enquiry into the original Cauſes and Principles, which, by inſenſibly corrupting their antient Laws, Diſcipline and Manners, reduc'd it in concluſion to an abſolute Monarchy.

BUT before I enter upon this Argument, it may not be improper to remove ſome popular Calumnies, which have been rais'd in particular againſt the *Roman* Commonwealth,

monwealth, and againſt all free Governments whatſoever, by the Advocates for Tyranny. They object, that after the Recovery of their Liberty, the *Romans* immediately fell into Confuſion and Diſorder; that we find nothing in the Hiſtories of thoſe Times but Tumults and Seditions between the two contending Parties, no Stability in their Councils, nor Steddineſs in their Reſolutions, but all govern'd by popular Fury and Faction: to which they oppoſe the Quiet and Tranquillity of the Kingly Government; and upon theſe Grounds found all the Objections they make, in order to decry the popular Frames of Government. But that the Weakneſs of theſe Objections may more fully appear, I ſhall advance theſe following Obſervations:

1. THAT the Kingly Government was not free from Seditions.

2. THAT under the Kingly Government there was no ſufficient Security provided for the Liberties of the People.

3. THAT the Kingly Government was uncapable of making Conqueſts.

4. THAT the popular Seditions under the Commonwealth never came to Blood.

5. THAT they reform'd and perfected the *Roman* Government.

6. THAT there were no Seditions after the Commonwealth became more equal.

7. AND that during this laſt Period the *Romans* conquer'd the World.

NOTHING can appear more manifeſt * than the firſt Propoſition, That the Kingly Government was not free from Seditions: for by what other Name can we call ſo many Plots † and Conſpiracies, and the Aſſaſſination of no leſs than four Kings out of ſeven, and the Expulſion of a fifth? If it be objected, that theſe were only

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* Liv. l. 1. † Dionyſ. l. 1, 2, 3, 4.

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accidental Diſorders rais'd by the Ambition or Diſcontents of a few private Perſons; it muſt ſtill be allow'd, that altho they were more particular in their Cauſes, they were more univerſal in their Effects than the Violence of any popular Commotions: For what can the Rage and Folly of a Multitude commit equal to ſuch a deſperate Attempt, as diſſolves the Government at a blow, and expoſes all to Anarchy and Confuſion; not to mention the dangerous Factions which exercis'd the Reigns of TARQUIN and SERVIUS, and which ended in the Murder of theſe excellent Princes? What Seditions were * rais'd upon the very firſt † *Interregnum*, and other Vacancies of the Throne? a Defect eſſential to the very nature of Elective Monarchy, where the ſupreme Command muſt of courſe be more ſtrongly contended for than the annual and ſucceſſive Honours of a Republick.

2. NOR was there a ſufficient Security provided for the Liberties of the People

* Dionyſ. l. 4. † Ib. l. 2.

under the Kingly Governments, for want of a due Ballance to keep the Conſtitution ſteddy. The * Regal Authority was indeed limited by † Laws; but Laws are dead Letters, and can make no Reſiſtance to the arbitrary Will of a Prince, unleſs there is ſuch a Force in the Government as is ſtrong enough to ſupport them. The Guard of Liberty, in moſt regulated Monarchies, has been plac'd in ſome popular Magiſtrates, who carefully watch'd all Innovations upon the Conſtitution, and had Authority to queſtion the Kings themſelves for any arbitrary or illegal Proceedings: of this nature were the *Ephori* at *Sparta* ‡, and the ** *Juſticia* at *Arragon*. In other mixt Governments, the Guard of Liberty was intruſted to frequent Aſſemblies of the People in Perſon, or by their Repreſentatives, who had a Right to enquire into the Management of their Rulers, and had Power ſufficient to face and defeat the ſtrongeſt League that could be form'd for

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* Dionyſ. p. 65. † Tac. Ann. 3. c. 26.
‡ Nepos in Pauſania, c. 3. Plut. in Lycurgo, p. 79.
** Hottomanni Francogal.

the

the Subverſion of their Liberties. This Conſtitution chiefly prevail'd in the *Gothic* Governments eſtabliſh'd in *Europe*. The Wiſdom of other Nations limited the Regal Power, by placing the Sword in the hands of the Subject; which was the beſt Security of all, and was the antient Conſtitution of *England*, whilſt the Power of the Militia belong'd to the Nobility and Gentry, in a manner independent of the Crown. Theſe Inſtitutions were the great Fences of Liberty in the moſt celebrated mixt Governments, both antient and modern, which were all wanting under the Kingly Government of *Rome*. * Popular Magiſtrates they had none, till the Tyranny of the Senate, after the Expulſion of the Kings, had brought them to have recourſe to that Remedy. † Aſſemblies indeed they had, but the Kings only having the Right of convening them, and nothing being to be propounded or debated in them, but with the Royal Approbation, 'tis no wonder they prov'd no ſtronger Defences againſt the Encroachments of the laſt Kings.

* Liv. l. 2. c. 33. † Dionyſ p. 66.

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The * Kings had likewiſe the abſolute Command of the whole military Power of the State. I eaſily foreſee a plauſible Objection that may be urg'd, How it came to paſs then that the *Romans*, inſtead of falling into abſolute Slavery, got ground upon the Monarchy, till they entirely aboliſh'd it. To which I anſwer, That ‡ ROMULUS, about the latter end of his Reign, had made himſelf abſolute; but the Government being conferr'd on † NUMA, a juſt and virtuous Prince, he disbanded the Guards, which were the chief Power of his Predeceſſor, and govern'd with great Moderation. This Example was purſu'd by the reſt, who all generouſly encreas'd the Privileges of the People; whether out of Fear or Virtue, I will not determine; for it is manifeſt it was not owing to the Conſtitution, which could not preſerve them from TARQUIN, who follow'd other Maxims. But altho there was no Counterpoize in the Laws to ballance the Regal Authority, yet the Liberty ſeems to have

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* Dionyſ. p. 65. ‡ Plut. in Rom. p. 6.

† Plut. in Num. p. 117. vid. Cic. Philip. 5. c. 6.

been

been in a great meaſure ſupported by the mere weight of the People, whoſe Property was the nobleſt Root of Liberty; which being at firſt planted by ROMULUS, and cheriſh'd by the ſucceeding Princes, and being attended with that Valour and Spirit which is the Effect of Eaſe and Plenty, made it a dangerous Adventure; eſpecially for Kings who did not inherit by Succeſſion, and three of whom were Strangers, to attempt upon their Liberties. But Errors in the Superſtructures may endanger the Fabrick, be the Foundation ever ſo well laid, as the *Romans* found to their coſt under TARQUIN; who claiming by Succeſſion, aſſum'd the Government without the Conſent of the People; and being back'd at firſt by the *Patrician* Intereſt, and by the keeping up foreign Guards, having arm'd himſelf with a Power ſuperior to all Laws, turn'd the Government into an abſolute Tyranny; and had he reign'd long enough to have impoveriſh'd or corrupted the People, Liberty, in all likelihood, would never have been reſtor'd; but fooliſhly diſobliging the *Patricians*, and putting Arms in-

to the Hands of his oppreſs'd and courageous Subjects, he left an Example to all future Tyrants, that an Army of Freeholders will always turn their Swords againſt their Oppreſſors, whenever an Opportunity preſents it ſelf.

3. THAT the Kingly Government was incapable of making Conqueſts, there needs no other Argument to demonſtrate, than that ſo many warlike and victorious Princes could not extend their Territories above * fifteen Miles beyond the Walls of *Rome*. The little Progreſs the *Romans* made under the Monarchy, may be chiefly aſcrib'd to theſe following Reaſons.

THEIR military Diſcipline was not eſtabliſh'd till the Reign of † SERVIUS TULLIUS, their laſt King except one; nor was it then brought to Perfection, but receiv'd continual ‡ Improvements from the Experience of after Ages. ** Their Ar-

* Plut. De fortuna Romana, p. 547. Dionyſ. l. 4. p. 165.
† Eutr. l. 1. p. 8. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 3. c. 15.
‡ Liv. l. 8. c. 8. ** Ib. l. 4. c. 59.

mies

mies receiving no Pay, were incapable of making long Expeditions.

WE find in their Hiſtories but one * *Colony* planted in their conquer'd Countries, from the time of ROMULUS to the Reign of TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS: An Omiſſion which made all their Victories ineffectual; Colonies being the only way by which an Infant State can propagate her Empire, and which ROMULUS wiſely perceiv'd. The Maxim which the following † Kings ſeem'd to purſue, was increaſing the numbers of their People, by tranſplanting the Inhabitants of the Cities they had conquer'd into *Rome*, and incorporating them into the Commonwealth. This Inſtitution, 'tis confeſs'd, was of excellent uſe, but much inferior in all Reſpects to Colonies, as I ſhall endeavour to ſhew in the following part of this Diſcourſe.

THE Kings did not fall into the wiſe meaſures of communicating the Rights of the City to the bordering States; which

* Oſtia. † Liv. l. 1. c. 33.

was

was a cheap and eaſy way of enlarging their Territories, and practis'd with good Succeſs by the Commonwealth.

MOST of the Wars, which the Kings made, were defenſive; and we commonly find, that after they had vanquiſh'd their Enemies, they were content with an honourable Satisfaction for the Injuries committed; ſometimes with a bare Submiſſion, and often with vain * Titles of Honour beſtow'd on them by the conquer'd Countries, in token of their Dependence, which ſignify'd little to hold them under a real Subjection: Theſe Conqueſts never failing to † revolt upon the Death of the King, either preſuming on the unactive Genius of the Succeſſor, or pretending they lay under no Obligation to perform theſe Conditions with the Prince who came after.

ROME, in its Infancy, was encompaſs'd round with warlike and numerous Nations, living at their eaſe under free and

* Dionyſ. p. 145. † Ib. p. 119, 132, 138, 174, 183, 227. Liv. l. 1. c. 32.

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independent Governments, who contended bravely for their Liberties, and held the *Roman* Fortune long in play: under which Conſtitution Nations are very difficultly maſter'd by Monarchies, and ſeldom thorowly ſubdu'd, but by Commonwealths of greater Virtue and Liberty than their own.

4. THAT the Seditions of the *Roman* Commonwealth never came to Blood, is apparent from the * Authority of all their Hiſtories. 'Tis true, there was much Clamour and Violence in theſe popular Tumults, but their utmoſt Fury ended in a voluntary Retreat from the City: *Nondum erant tam fortes ad ſanguinem civilem—— & ultima rabies ſeceſſio a ſuis habebatur*, ſays † LIVY. I would not be underſtood of thoſe Seditions which happen'd in the Corruption of the Republick, which were headed by mercenary Tribunes, to promote the ambitious Deſigns of ſome aſpiring Citizens; of which more hereafter.

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* Dionyſ. p. 348. † L. 7. c. 40.

5. THAT

5. THAT that the Seditions of *Rome* perfected their Government. Seditions do not proceed from the nature of Commonwealths in general; for many Republicks have been entirely free from them, as *Sparta*, *Venice*, &c. but from Defects in particular Conſtitutions. Ariſtocracies, where the Body of the People are excluded from the Adminiſtration, are moſt ſubject to theſe Diſorders; as is remarkable in the little Governments of *Italy*, which being all Ariſtocratical, were ſeldom free from * Commotions. The Reformation of Governments, which are ſo unequal in their Conſtitution, muſt be attended with popular Tumults and Violence; whilſt the Nobility contend for their hereditary Honours and Privileges, and the Commons ſtrive to reduce the Government to an Equality. From this Cauſe aroſe all the Seditions of *Rome*; which, tho for the preſent creating ſome little Diſorders in the State, introduc'd excellent Orders into the Govern-

* Dionyſ. p. 287. Liv. l. 24. c. 2.

ment,

ment, and were ſucceeded by laſting Quiet and Tranquillity: ſo that upon the whole, theſe Seditions were of excellent uſe to the Commonwealth. * *Etſi omnes ſeditiones moleſtæ fuiſſent, juſtas tamen fuiſſe nonnullas; neque Reges ex hac Civitate exigi, neque Tribunos plebis creari, neque plebiſcitis toties Conſularem poteſtatem minui, neque provocationem, patronam illam Civitatis & vindicem libertatis, populo Romano dari ſine Nobilium diſſenſione potuiſſe*; as was truly and judiciouſly obſerv'd by CRASSUS in his Defence of NORBANUS.

I HAVE inſiſted the leſs upon theſe two preceding Articles, becauſe little can be added to the Remarks which HARRINGTON and MACCHIAVEL have already made on the ſame Subject. I ſhall therefore conclude this Chapter with theſe two Remarks: 1. That notwithſtanding all that has been objected againſt the popular Commotions under Commonwealths, Monarchies are more ſubject to Seditions,

* Cic. de Orat. l. 2. c. 48.

which always come to Blood, and never reform the Government, unleſs they chance to diſſolve it; which is eaſily prov'd by comparing the Reigns of the twelve CÆSARS with that ſpace of Time during which *Rome* was ſeditious, both Periods containing near the ſame compaſs of Time. 2. That the Tranquillity of thoſe Monarchies, which happen to be free from Seditions, is an Argument that the Subjects are ſo impoveriſh'd, debas'd or diminiſh'd, by the arbitrary Violence and Oppreſſion of their Maſters, that they have neither the Will, the Courage, nor the Ability to ſhake off their Chains; which is the preſent Condition of moſt of the Monarchies in *Europe*. And who is there that would not prefer a factious Liberty before ſuch a ſettled Tyranny?

6. THAT *Rome* was free from Seditions, after the Government became more equal. The Senate, after the Expulſion of the Kings, tyrannizing over the Commons, compell'd them, for their own Preſervation, to create new Magiſtrates out of their own Order, call'd *Tribunes*; under whoſe

whoſe Conduct they gradually diminiſh'd the Power of the Ariſtocracy, till at laſt they utterly extinguiſh'd it, and eſtabliſh'd the whole Body of the People upon an equal Foundation of Liberty. This gradual Reformation ſeems to have been compleated at the Creation of the firſt *Plebeian* Conſul, three hundred eighty ſix Years from the Foundation of the City. The Introduction of Equality into the Government may be beſt plac'd at this Juncture, when the higheſt Station in the Commonwealth was communicated to the *Plebeians*, which LIVY juſtly calls the * *Arx* and *Columen Libertatis*; and which, as the ſame † Author obſerves, after long and violent Contentions, begot an univerſal Concord and Union. After this time, the Nobility made little ** Oppoſition to any popular Laws: *Aſſueti jam tali certamine num genere vinci*, ſays LIVY. Nor did there happen any domeſtic Diſorder, in near two hundred and forty Years, which deſerves the name of Sedition, except a light

* L. 6. c. 37.
** L. 10. c. 6.
† L. 6. c. 42.

Tumult of Debtors and Bankrupts, who retir'd in a Rage to Mount * *Janiculus*; but which is omitted by ſeveral Hiſtorians in the Catalogue of the *Roman* Seditions. I am not ignorant that other † Writers make this Sedition more conſiderable; but all Authors agree that it was compos'd without Bloodſhed by ‡ HORTENSIUS the Dictator, and that it ended in the Revival of an excellent but antiquated Law. From this Tumult, which happen'd in the four hundred ſixty ſeventh Year of the City, to the Sedition of GRACCHUS in the ſix hundred and twentieth Year of the City, *Rome* enjoy'd a profound Quiet and Proſperity, not interrupted by the leaſt domeſtick Diſſenſion: an Example of laſting Tranquillity, that can be parallel'd in no Monarchy whatſoever. This Interval of Time was the moſt happy and moſt glorious Period of the ** *Roman* Commonwealth, and gave riſe to that Valour and

* L. Flor. Luc. Ampelius, Oroſius.
† Liv. Epit. l. 11. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 3. c. 17.
‡ Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 16. p. 239.
** Flor. l. 2. c. 19. Sall. Frag. p. 410.

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Induſtry which extended their Conqueſts over the World. And this leads me to the laſt Propoſition I advanc'd;

7. THAT the *Romans*, during the Equality of the Commonwealth, ſubdu'd the Univerſe.

I HAVE already aſſign'd the moſt probable Reaſons which interrupted the Progreſs of the *Roman* Conqueſts under the Monarchy. After the Expulſion of the Kings, the *Patricians* aſſum'd the Government, and fell naturally into the defenſive Maxims, which all Ariſtocracies do or ought to purſue. 'Tis evident, from the whole Tenour of their Hiſtories, that they aim'd only at the Quiet and Preſervation of their Government; that the Wars they at firſt undertook were juſt and neceſſary, either to repel or revenge a foreign Invaſion: but Fortune, which ſo often ſeconded the Virtue of *Rome*, wou'd not ſuffer the mighty Genius of that People to languiſh in Obſcurity, and found means to interrupt the Eſtabliſhment of thoſe ſlothful Meaſures, by foreign Wars or domeſtick

Diſcord; both which, by a ſtrange Fatality, equally conſpir'd to the Riſe and Growth of the *Roman* Greatneſs.

AFTER the Baniſhment of the Kings, the * *Roman* People made a wonderful Progreſs in all kinds of Virtue; and the Indulgence of the Senate in the firſt Years of their Adminiſtration, had ſo rais'd their Spirits, that the following Oppreſſions of the Nobility, inſtead of melting and quelling them, ſerv'd only to inflame their Minds, who were content with Liberty before, to contend for Honour and Dominion with their proud and imperious Maſters. To divert theſe dangerous Contentions at home, the † Nobility enter'd into Wars abroad, not with Deſigns of Conqueſt, but either to prevent or puniſh a domeſtick Sedition; chuſing rather to be vanquiſh'd in the Field by their Enemies, than to have hard ‡ Laws impos'd on them in the City by the victorious Tribunes.

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* Cic. Quæſt. Tuſ. l. 4. c. 1. Salluſt. Catil. c. 7.

† Dionyſ. p. 265. Liv. l. 2. c. 28, 32. l. 4. c. 5, 58.

‡ Liv. l. 4. c. 1.

COLO-

COLONIES, the beſt way of ſecuring their Acquiſitions, were very * ſeldom and very unwillingly planted; ſometimes to appeaſe a popular Tumult, at other times to prevent † Diviſions of Land nearer home, or elſe to encourage the Commons to take up Arms more cheerfully, to reſiſt a dangerous Invaſion which threatned them from abroad. Such were the Deſigns and Policy of that Government; and 'tis no wonder in ſuch a divided State and ſuch diſtracted Counſels, if the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms were in a manner at a ſtand. But this Advantage they reap'd from their foreign Wars and civil Diſſenſions, that the one preſerv'd the Courage and Diſcipline of their Armies, and the other reform'd the Conſtitution of their Government. But Conqueſt and Dominion were reſerv'd to complete the Felicity of a free and impartial Commonwealth, the Eſtabliſhment of which I place at the three hundred eighty ſixth Year of the City,

* Liv. l. 5. c. 24. l. 6. c. 16. l. 4. c. 36, 47, 49, 51, 58.
† Ib. l. 3. c. 1. l. 4. c. 51. l. 6. c. 21.

when the Conſulſhip was laid open to the Commons, and the *Licinian* Law enacted, which was the chief Strength of the popular Conſtitution of Government.

AFTER this Reformation of the Commonwealth, their Affairs quickly aſſum'd another face: that Virtue and Ambition which had been ſo long oppreſs'd by the Faction and Dominion of the few, had a free ſcope to exert it ſelf, and a wide Field to range in: *Hinc majora bella*, ſays *LIVY; at this time they began to aſpire to the Dominion of *Italy*: and altho they were weaken'd by the Revolt of their old Allies the *Latines*, and attack'd about the ſame time by the *Samnites*, the moſt warlike, and the *Tuſcans*, the richeſt and moſt populous Nation of *Italy*; yet their unweary'd Virtue and Induſtry overcame all theſe Difficulties, and in leſs than a hundred Years reduc'd all *Italy* under their Obedience, which had held them at a Bay for ſo many Ages before. PYRRHUS was an eaſy Triumph; and the *Carthaginians*,

* Li. 7. c. 29.

who

who diſputed the Empire of the World with them in three long and bloody Wars with various Succeſſes, being at length born down by the mere Weight of their Conſtitution, as * POLYBIUS obſerves; and PHILIP, with ANTIOCHUS and PERSEUS, being an unequal match for their Arms, they remain'd, in concluſion, the abſolute Maſters of the Univerſe. This amazing Progreſs of their Conqueſts may be chiefly aſſign'd to theſe following Reaſons:

THAT their Domeſtick Factions being extinguiſh'd, left them at liberty to purſue their foreign Conqueſts.

THAT the Counſels of popular Aſſemblies are more bold and courageous than the Reſolutions of Senates and Princes. There is a certain natural Vigour that animates the Debates of a Multitude, and has often-times a mixture of Raſhneſs in it; a Defect, 'tis confeſs'd, but flowing from a noble Principle. To what other Cauſe

* P. 373, 687.

can

can be aſſign'd the vaſt Hopes and ambitious Deſigns of the States of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and other Governments, where the People bore the greateſt ſway, but to an Exceſs of Courage, flowing from Liberty and Equality, which rais'd the ſame Spirit and Diſpoſition in the *Romans*; but regulated by wiſer Orders, ſtrengthen'd by better Diſcipline, and founded on a larger Bottom?

ADD to this, that Fame, Ambition and Avarice, the common Inducements to all great Undertakings of this nature, reign very ſtrongly in popular Aſſemblies, where the Spoils or the Honour are to be divided among a Multitude; which is more hard to ſatisfy, than the private Glory or Profits of a Prince or a Senate.

TO this may be join'd the Virtue and Emulation of their particular Magiſtrates and Commanders, with which a Commonwealth will always abound, where the ſupreme Dignities are annual and ſucceſſive, and are the never-failing Reward of the higheſt Deſert and Abilities.

THESE

THESE were the principal Cauſes that gave Riſe to thoſe Counſels, which led them to all their ſucceeding Greatneſs. For whereas the Wars under the Ariſtocracy were chiefly defenſive, and carry'd on with more Fury than Perſeverance, **Magis impetu quam perſeverantiâ*, the Conqueſt of *Veii* being the only conſiderable Acquiſition made in a hundred and forty Years; under the popular Government, the Avarice of the People, the Courage of the Soldiers, and the Emulation of the Generals, made the † *Romans* commonly the Aggreſſors. Wars were undertaken upon ſlighter Grounds, purſu'd with more Obſtinacy, and concluded with greater Advantage. This remarkably appears in the firſt ‡ *Punick* War, which was voted and reſolv'd on by the People, in conjunction with their Conſuls, againſt the expreſs Authority and Approbation of the Senate; and was the firſt foreign Expedition they ever undertook.

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* Liv. l. 5. c. 6. † Ib. l. 9. c. 1, 20, 41. l. 10. c. 5.
‡ Polyb. p. 13, 14, 89.

TO

TO which may be added, the advantageous Situation of *Rome* for the Conqueſt of * *Italy*, and of *Italy* for the Conqueſt of the World; and that the Governments of *Italy* were leſs warlike in proportion to their diſtance from *Rome*, and leſs obſtinate Lovers and Defenders of their Liberty. Nor was the Juſtice and Magnanimity of the *Romans* to their conquer'd Nations, a ſmall Inducement to foreign Nations to ſubmit to their Government; which was rather the Patronage than Empire of the World.

BESIDES theſe general and more remote Conſiderations, I ſhall aſſign ſome particular Cauſes, which concurr'd more immediately to the Growth and Preſervation of the *Roman* Conqueſts.

THE Perfection of their military Diſcipline, which I ſhall handle ſo far forth as it bears any relation to the Conſtitution of the Civil Government.

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* Liv. l. 5. c. 54. l. 7. c. 32.

THE

THE vaſt Increaſe of their People, after the Equality of the Government; their excellent way of maintaining their Conqueſts by Colonies at firſt, by equal Leagues afterwards, and at laſt by unequal Leagues and Provincial Governments.

THE vaſt Increaſe of their Numbers will beſt appear, by preſenting the Reader at one View with all the Muſters or Surveys of their Citizens which are extant, and in the Order they were taken down, as low as the time of SYLLA.

Anno Urbis Conditæ.	Fighting Men.	Authors.
1	3,300	*Dionyſ.* l. 2. p. 59
37	47,000	—— l. 2. p. 67
Under *Serv. Tull.*	84,700	—— l. 4. p. 167
245	130,000	—— l. 5. p. 216
256	150,700	—— p. 250
260	110,000	—— p. 307
279	103,000	—— p. 437
288	124,215	*Liv.* l. 3. c. 3
294	132,409	—— c. 24
361	152,580	*Euſeb. Chron.*
410	160,000	
435	250,000	*Liv.* l. 9. c. 19
460	262,000	—— l. 10. c. 47
464	273,000	*Liv. Epit.* l. 11

Anno

Anno Urbis Conditæ.	Fighting Men.	Authors.
474	278,222	*Liv. Epit.* l. 13
478	271,224	—— l. 14
489	292,224	—— l. 16
502	297,797	—— l. 18
506	251,222	—— l. 19
512	260,000	*Euſeb. Chron.*
533	270,213	*Liv. Epit.* l. 20
546	137,108	*Liv.* l. 27. c. 36
549	214,000	—— l. 29. c. 37
560	243,704	—— l. 35. c. 9
565	258,308	—— l. 38. c. 36
574	273,244	*Liv. Epit.* l. 41
580	269,015	*Liv.* l. 42. c. 10
584	312,810	*Liv. Epit.* l. 45
589	337,452	*Plut. in Æmil.*
594	328,314	*Liv. Epit.* l. 47
599	324,000	—— l. 48
606	322,000	*Euſeb. Chron.*
611	328,342	*Liv. Epit.* l. 54
617	323,000	—— l. 56
622	313,822	—— l. 59
628	390,736	—— l. 60
638	394,336	—— l. 63
667	463,000	*Euſeb. Chron.*

FROM this Scheme it is evident, that the People multiply'd very faſt under the Kingly Government; that their Stock was very much diminiſh'd under the Beginnings of the Ariſtocracy, and increas'd prodigiouſly after the Commonwealth became equal:

equal: for from the general Survey in the Year 410, not long after the laſt change of their Government, to the Year 435, we find an Increaſe of 90,000 Inhabitants. How the Growth of their Numbers conduc'd to the Inlargement of their Empire, will appear by the next Article of Colonies.

COLONIES were of excellent uſe to the Commonwealth: (1.) To inlarge their Empire, * *Coloniis occupari latiùs imperii fines.* (2.) To defend their Borders againſt a Revolt of their Allies: † *Subſidia adverſus Rebelles.* (3.) To multiply their People, ‡ *Augendæ ſtirpis cauſâ.* (4.) To tranſplant their poor Citizens, ** *Coloniis Sentina Urbis exhauſta.* (5) To prevent Seditions, †† *Plebem quietam deducta in Coloniis multitudo præſtabat.* (6.) To reward their ‡‡ *Veterans.* To which may be added, the preſerving the popular Ballance by ſuch large Diviſions of Land to

* Liv. l. 1. c. 56.
‡ Liv. l. 27. c. 9, 10.
†† Liv. l. 10. c. 6.
† Tac. Ann. l. 12. c. 32.
** Cic. ad Att. Ep. 18. l. 1.
‡‡ Ib. l. 31. c. 4, 49.

the

the Commons, and the infuſing the *Roman* Manners and Diſcipline into the conquer'd Provinces: *Imbuendis Sociis ad officia Legum*, ſays * TACITUS.

THE firſt Inſtitution of Colonies was owing to the Wiſdom of *Romulus*, who planted ſeven: but his Example was ill purſu'd by his Succeſſors, there being only one more planted between his Reign and that of TARQUIN the Proud, who planted two more.

THE Ariſtocracy, as they made little Progreſs in their Conqueſts, ſo by conſequence ſent forth very few Colonies, not above ten or twelve in the compaſs of a hundred and forty Years.

UNDER the popular Government, when Liberty and Equality had remov'd all the Obſtacles which controll'd the conquering Genius of that mighty People, they extended their Colonies and their Victories over all *Italy*; having from the Year 336,

* Ann. l. 12. c. 32.

to

to the ſecond *Punick* War, planted forty; and from thence to the Sedition of GRACCHUS twenty more, with much greater Numbers of Citizens, larger Proportions of Acres, and at much greater Diſtances from *Rome* than formerly.

THE Inſtitution of planting Colonies was of greater Benefit to the publick, than tranſplanting the Inhabitants of the conquer'd Cities to *Rome*: a Method that ſerv'd only to increaſe the Numbers of their Citizens, which the other did more effectually, by providing a larger Subſiſtence for them; not to repeat the other Advantages of Colonies, which were all wanting in this Inſtitution.

THE prodigious increaſe of their Inhabitants enabled the *Romans* to plant ſuch a Barrier of Colonies on the Frontiers, as more effectually maintain'd all their Conqueſts, than treble the Number of Gariſons cou'd have done; which being compos'd of regular Forces, kept up in conſtant Diſcipline and Pay, wou'd have conſum'd their People, created a vaſt Charge,

and certainly have deſtroy'd their Liberties: whereas their Colonies ſtill retain'd their Reverence for their * Mother City, and were the only Support of the *Roman* State, when they were ſunk by ſo many Loſſes in the ſecond *Punick* War.

ROME, as HARRINGTON judiciouſly obſerves, in her Riſe proceeded by Colonies: for the Acquiſitions of an Infant Government muſt be retain'd in ſubjection by an actual Force, till the Terror and Reputation of their Arms can procure a Submiſſion and Obedience to their bare Authority.

ROME in her Growth proceeded by Leagues, either equal, as the Alliance with the *Latines* and other Nations, on whom the Rights of the City were beſtow'd; which was an excellent Policy to propagate their Empire, and rarely practis'd by the preceding Governments: or unequal, as the *Jus Italicum*, which was a Donation of the City without Suffrage, or

* Liv. l. 27. c. 9, 10.

by

by Provincial Governments. But for this laſt Article, I ſhall refer the Reader to SIGONIUS, who has handled it with great Judgment and Accuracy, and ſhall content my ſelf with making two Obſervations.

1. THAT the Subjects of the *Romans* * liv'd under the mildeſt Adminiſtration, and the gentleſt Yoke in the World; which ingag'd them in a willing Obedience and voluntary Submiſſion to a Nation of greater Virtues than their own, without thoſe frequent Tumults and Rebellions with which Oppreſſion and Tyranny are always attended.

2. THAT the *Roman* Policy ſecur'd their † Conqueſts with ſo much eaſe, and ſo effectually, that there is hardly any Example to be found in all their Hiſtories that they ever ſurrender'd one ſpot of Ground, of which they had once got the Dominion.

* Liv. l. 5. c. 27.

† Am. Marcel. p. 339. Zoſim. p. 191.

BUT 'tis time to return from this long Digreſſion, and reſume the Subject of my Diſcourſe.

THE Reaſons of the Corruption and Ruin of the *Roman* Commonwealth, may be reduc'd to theſe general Heads.

THE negligent Execution of the Laws and Orders on which the Popular Government was founded.

SOME original Defects in the firſt Conſtitution of the Government.

AND laſtly, to ſome ſucceeding Laws and Inſtitutions in favour of an Ariſtocratical Government, or of an abſolute Monarchy.

THE ill Execution of the Laws and Orders on which the Popular Government was founded, proceeded from theſe two Cauſes.

1. THAT

1. THAT the Government was not often enough reduc'd to its firſt Principles.

2. FROM the alteration of their way of living. CICERO*, and from him MACCHIAVEL, and other modern Writers of Politicks, lay down for a certain Maxim, That Commonwealths cannot ſubſiſt, unleſs they are frequently renew'd by their Magiſtrates, either by reviving the Reverence and Terror of the Laws, or by reſtoring the antient Virtue and Diſcipline, or by a thorow reformation of thoſe Corruptions and Diſorders, which length of Time, a looſe Adminiſtration, and the depravity of human Nature will introduce into the ſoundeſt and firmeſt Conſtitutions of Government.

THIS† MACCHIAVEL ſtiles reſuming the Commonwealth, and reducing it to its firſt Principles, of which there are many

* Frag. l. 5. de Republ.

† Diſcorſ. l. 3. c. 1.

memorable Inſtances in the riſe of the Popular Government.

THESE Renovations of the *Roman* Commonwealth were effected either by their ordinary Magiſtrates; as the *Tribunes*, to whom the guard of Liberty, or the *Cenſors*, to whom the inſpection of their Diſcipline, Manners, and Suffrages was committed; or elſe by extraordinary ones, as the Dictators, who were commonly created upon ſome great and ſudden Emergency, either to reſiſt a foreign War, or to correct ſome domeſtick Diſorder. Under the Vigilance and Conduct of theſe Magiſtrates, for ſome Ages after the Inſtitution of the Popular Government, the Adminiſtration was ſteddy and regular; thoſe Laws which were the great Fences of Liberty, were ſtrictly obey'd, or ſeverely executed, as the * *Licinian* and the † *Uſurary* Laws, *&c.* and others whoſe Authority was decaying were reviv'd and re-enacted, as the Law of ‡ Ap-

* Liv. l. 7. c. 16. l. 10. c. 13.
† L. 7. c. 28. l. 10. c. 23. ‡ L. 10. c. 9.

peals

peals to the People, which was thrice renew'd: another, that a Vote of the Commons without the concurrence of the *Senate*, ſhould have the Force and Authority of a Law, was as often reviv'd. *

'TWOULD be endleſs to enumerate Examples of this kind, during the Purity of the Commonwealth; by which the Conſtitution was ſo often ſtrengthen'd and reinforc'd. To this Rigour and Severity ſucceeded a looſe and negligent Adminiſtration; the Vigour and Influence of their Laws was aboliſh'd by Diſuſe; and the beſt Conſtitution in the World, not being renew'd or reviv'd, departed from the Principles on which it was firſt founded, and was intirely ſubverted.

THIS fatal Management ſeems to owe its Riſe to the following Occaſions.

1. THE miſtaken Liberty which the People aſſum'd of diſpenſing with the moſt fundamental Laws of their Conſtitution,

* Liv. l. 3. c. 55. l. 8. c. 12. Plin. l. 16. p. 239.

as the * *Leges Annales*, and the Laws againſt † Continuation of Magiſtracy, with many others which ought to have been ſacred and unalterable.

THE ſupreme Power of a Nation, 'tis confeſs'd, can be bounded or limited by no precedent Laws; but in ſuch Caſes it would have well become the Wiſdom of the People to have laid a voluntary Reſtraint on their own Authority, and have had recourſe to the *Dictatorian* Power, or any other Expedient, rather than to expoſe and weaken the great Bulwarks of their Conſtitution, by aſſuming ſuch a diſpenſing Power; which, altho at firſt it was exercis'd upon good Grounds (as all evil Precedents have good Beginnings) yet in proceſs of Time, had a dangerous Influence on the Commonwealth. For this popular Levity of diſpenſing with their moſt ſolemn ‡ Orders and Inſtitutions,

* App. p. 114. Liv. l. 10. c. 13.

† Plut. in Cæſ. p. 1308. in Cat. p. 1420. Suet. in Jul. c. 18. Dion. Caſſ. p. 15. Aſcon. Pedian. in Cornel. Cic. de Rep. l. 3.

‡ Liv. l. 7. c. 17. l. 9. c. 33.

fram'd

fram'd by the united Wiſdom and Experience of ſo many Ages, diminiſh'd by degrees the * Reverence and Reputation of the Laws; and led them naturally to conclude, That thoſe Laws which at ſome Junctures were judg'd inconvenient, were at all times unneceſſary: and altho there was an outward appearance of Liberty in the Maxim, on which this Proceeding was founded, to wit, that the laſt Reſolution of the People was the undoubted Law of the Commonwealth; yet nothing can be more certain, than that no Conſtitution can ſubſiſt, where the whole Frame of the Laws may be ſhaken or ſuſpended, by the ſudden temporary Counſels of a Multitude, and where the Laws are govern'd by the People, inſtead of the People's being govern'd by the Laws. In after-times † the exerciſe of this Power was aſſum'd, and in a manner engroſs'd by the Senate, till the People, after they had miſcarry'd in an Attempt to reſtore it to their own Aſ-

* Liv. l. 10. c. 13.

† Dion. Caſſ. p. 19. Aſco. Ped. in Cornel. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 14, 15. App. p. 716.

ſemblies,

ſemblies, were content to divide it with the Senate, under certain Reſtraints and Limitations.

BUT the Commonwealth gain'd little Advantage by this Alteration; the Power being equally pernicious, in whatever Hands it was plac'd. In former Times, 'tis confeſs'd, it was rather dangerous in Example than Fact: but in the corrupt Ages of the Government, it gave a Riſe to that fatal Neglect in the Obſervance of all the Laws, ſo eſſential to their Conſtitution; and made way for the ſeven Conſulſhips of MARIUS, the early and multiply'd Honours of POMPEY, and the long Continuation of CÆSAR's Command in *Gaul*; which are on all hands allow'd to have been the direct and immediate Cauſes of the Ruin of the Commonwealth.

2. ANOTHER Reaſon was the Omiſſion or Alteration of the Cuſtom of Accuſing. The Laws can never be maintain'd in force in a Nation, where 'tis held diſhonourable to accuſe: For which Reaſon, all wiſe Commonwealths have che-

riſh'd and encourag'd, by Rewards and marks of Honour and Diſtinction, Accuſations of all publick Offenders *. At *Rome*, in particular, Accuſers were held in great eſteem; ſuch Men being reputed the Defenders of the Laws, and the Guardians of the Conſtitution. Their greateſt Men commonly entred the World with the Proſecution of ſome eminent Delinquent †: Nor did the higheſt Perſons in the State, as ‡ SCIPIO, CATO, and others, think it a Diſparagement, after all their Honours, to undertake this Province.

THE Laws had their due Weight and Authority, whilſt they were defended by ſuch excellent Patrons; but in After-times, and in a more degenerate Age, they were abandon'd by their Champions. Accuſations ** were generally declin'd by the Men of Rank and Dignity, and ſeldom or never undertaken unleſs by mean and mercenary Informers, or raw and unskilful

* Cic. in Ver. c. 22.——pro Roſc. c. 20.
† Plut. in Lucul. p. 393. Cic. pro Cælio, c. 30.
‡ Cic. in Ver. c. 22. Apuleii Apol. p. 299.
** Cic. in Ver. c. 22.

Youths;

Youths: ſo that the Laws in a manner were left unguarded and defenceleſs; and what an Effect this muſt have upon the Conſtitution, I leave every Man to judge, and the Event ſufficiently declar'd. 'Tis true, * CICERO, and others, began to revive the old Cuſtom of accuſing; but 'twas then too late, the Corruption of the Commonwealth being too big for the Laws, and obſtinate to all Remedies.

NOR was the Authority of many of their Laws arm'd with ſuch Sanctions and Penalties as were neceſſary to imprint that Awe and Terror on the Minds of the People, which alone can diſpoſe them to Obedience. The famous Law of * Appeals was guarded by no other Sanction than a bare Declaration, that the Breach of it ſhould be eſteem'd a wicked Action: nor were their other Laws, except ſome few of their fundamental ones, back'd with ſeverer Puniſhments. The ordinary Rigour of their Laws extended only to Ignominy, or pecuniary Mulcts; Death being ſeldom in-

* Ib. † Liv. l. 10, c. 9.

flicted,

flicted, unleſs in Caſes of High Treaſon, Parricide, or Crimes of an extraordinary * nature. Baniſhment in it ſelf was no Penalty, but a Refuge to avoid the Puniſhment of the Laws: Disfranchiſement or Deprivation of Liberty, were Penalties, if we may believe † CICERO, above the reach of the ſupreme Power of the Commonwealth to inflict; even pecuniary Mulcts ‡ were antiently limited to ſome determin'd Sums, not to be exceeded.

BUT ſucceeding Ages, in a manner, aboliſh'd all the Power of the Laws, by ** exempting their Citizens from all corporal Puniſhments, and allowing the higheſt Offenders to evade the Sentence of the Laws, by retiring into a †† voluntary Exile. The Moderation of the *Roman* Laws was the worſt part of their Conſtitution; and in ſome Junctures, as the Attempt of SATURNINUS, CATILINE, *&c.* wou'd have

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* Cic. pro Cœcin. c. 34. † Ib.
‡ Dionyſ. p. 432.
** Liv. l. 10. c. 9. Sall. in Catilin. c. 5.
†† Dionyſ. p. 484.

endan-

endanger'd the very Being of the Commonwealth, if the Senate and Magiſtrates had not exerted an illegal, but neceſſary Power, for the Preſervation of the whole. But withal, it gives one a ſtrange Idea of the Excellence of the *Roman* Diſcipline and Manners, which flouriſh'd for ſo many Ages, by a mere ſenſe of Honour and fear of Ignominy, with ſo little Dread or Apprehenſion of ſeverer Puniſhments.

THAT the Commonwealth was not oftner reduc'd to its firſt Principles, chiefly aroſe from the Reaſons I have alledg'd; to which may be juſtly added, certain Defects and Errors in the Nature and Power of thoſe Magiſtrates, to whoſe Charge the Preſervation of the Laws was committed, as the *Tribunes* and *Cenſors*.

IN the Inſtitution of the *Tribunitian* Power, there was this original Defect, that the number of the *Tribunes* was too great: They were at firſt five, but their number was afterwards increas'd to * ten, which

* Dionyſ. p. 484.

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the People weakly imagin'd to be an Acceſſion of Strength and Honour to the Magiſtracy: but the Senate wiſely perceiv'd, that the increaſe of their Number wou'd be a Diminution of their Power, as it prov'd in the Event; for every ſingle *Tribune*, by virtue of his Office, being arm'd with a Power of putting a full ſtop to all Proceedings whatſoever, as well of the * People as of the Senate, they ſeldom found it a difficult matter, out of ſo great a number, to engage one † corrupt *Tribune* to hinder the Reſult of all the popular Counſels, and defeat the Deſigns of the other nine, how unanimous ſoever for the publick Advantage.

OF this kind it wou'd be endleſs to produce Teſtimonies; ſo many Examples occurring in the *Roman* Hiſtories of mercenary *Tribunes* forbidding the paſſing of new popular Laws, or the Revival and Execution of old ones. But this Defect was ſucceeded by a worſe, I mean the

* Liv. l. 2. c. 44. l. 4. c. 48. l. 6. c. 35.

† Dionyſ. p. 484.

Atinian

‡ *Atinian* Law, which permitted Senators to be choſen *Tribunes*. This Law deſtroy'd all the good Effects of the *Tribunitian* Power, and perverted the ends of its Inſtitution: for the *Tribunes* were at firſt created to be a Check on the Senate, and for that reaſon compos'd of Men of a different Order and Intereſt; Senators being expreſly excluded from that Office, and the two Employments judg'd inconſiſtent; the antient Policy thinking it abſurd to imagine, that a Senator in ſuch a Station wou'd ever act for the Advantage of the Commons, againſt the Intereſt of his own Order. Theſe were apparent Defects in the Powers and Qualifications of the *Tribunes*; the firſt rendring them in a manner uſeleſs and ineffectual, and the ſecond dangerous and pernicious: and the ill Effects of both on the whole Conſtitution of the *Roman* Government, are obvious at firſt View to every Man who conſiders the excellent uſe of the *Tribunitian* Power, whilſt it continu'd on its antient Eſtabliſhment.

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‡ A. Gell. l. 14. c. 8.

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THE Office of the Cenſors was one of the nobleſt Inſtitutions of the Commonwealth; their ordinary Juriſdiction extended to the Regulation of private Expences, the enacting of ſumptuary Laws, the farming the Revenues, and the Reformation of dangerous Abuſes and Diſorders in the popular Aſſemblies; of which laſt we have many * Examples. But their chief Province was to direct † and preſerve the publick Diſcipline and Manners, to preſide at the Tribunal of Fame, to reward the Brave and Virtuous with marks of Honour and Diſtinction, and to brand the Degenerate and Corrupt with Diſhonour and Ignominy.

THIS Inſtitution was of admirable Uſe in maintaining the Morals and the Virtue of the People; and at the ſame time highly contributed to ſupport the Vigour of the Laws, and to preſerve or reſtore the Conſtitution to its firſt Principles: For 'tis a certain Maxim, that as ‡ good Laws make

* Liv. l. 9. c. 46. Epit. l. 20. Cic. de Orat. l. 1. c. 9.
† Liv. l. 45. c. 15. ‡ Cic. Fragm. de Rep. l. 5.

good Men, ſo good Men defend good Laws, and are both a mutual Defence to each other. But there was this eſſential Defect in the frame of this Office, that there were two Cenſors inſtead of one; for all great Commands are better * manag'd by a ſingle Perſon than by many, eſpecially ſuch as require the utmoſt Rigour and Severity in their Execution. For Power divided between many, naturally produces Diſcord; of which we have many remarkable Examples in the Cenſorſhips of SCIPIO and MUMMIUS, LIVIUS and CLAUDIUS, CRASSUS and DOMITIUS, and many others, who all by their Diſcord and Diſſenſion deſtroy'd the good Effects of their Magiſtracy, which depended ſolely on their Concord and Unanimity; both enjoying an equal Authority, and either of them having Power to vacate the Decrees of his † Collegue. But in ſucceeding Ages this ‡ Magiſtracy was intermitted for many Years. 'Tis true, it was ſome time after reviv'd, but with

* Liv. l. 3. c. 70. † Cic. pro Cluentio, c. 43.
‡ Cic. in Ver.

ſuch

ſuch Limitations in its * Powers and Authority, as diſabled the Cenſors from reſiſting that Torrent of Corruption which firſt overthrew the Diſcipline, and afterwards the Liberties of *Rome*.

ANOTHER Reaſon which ſeems to have very much contributed to the ſteddy Support of the Conſtitution upon its original Principles, was, that after the Riſe of the popular Government, there aroſe every Age, Men of ſuch ſuperior Virtue and Merit, as by their Example gave an Influence and Authority to the Laws; who made a reſolute ſtand againſt all Innovations upon the great Fences of their Liberties, and either maintain'd or reviv'd their antient Conſtitution. But in after-times the Commonwealth was deſtitute of ſuch Supports. Not but that *Rome*, in its loweſt Decays, produc'd very extraordinary Men; but they were ſuch Men, whoſe great Qualities ſerv'd only to arm their Ambition againſt the Freedom of their Country.

* Cic. in Piſo, c. 4. pro Sextio, c. 25.

'TIS an Obſervation of * MACCHIAVEL, that great Dangers and violent Extremities often rectify and recover a Conſtitution of Government tending towards Corruption; of which he gives an excellent Example in the Sacking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*; to which may be added the Straits of *Caudium*, the Battle of *Cannæ*, and many other Loſſes in the Beginning and Progreſs of the Commonwealth: all which rous'd and reviv'd their antient Virtue and Diſcipline, and prov'd a Remedy inſtead of a Ruin. But in after Ages, the continual Succeſs of their Arms, and the profound Security they enjoy'd by the Conqueſt of *Carthage*, and of all their foreign Enemies, let looſe the Reins of their Adminiſtration, introduc'd a Depravity and Corruption of Manners; and, in concluſion, deſtroy'd the Commonwealth.

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* Diſcorſ. l. 3. c. 4.

Mr.

Mr. *MOYLE's*

CHARGE

TO THE

GRAND-JURY

AT

LESCARD,

April 1706.

Mr. *MOYLE's*

CHARGE

TO THE

GRAND-JURY

AT

Leſcard, April 1706.

Gentlemen of the Grand-Jury,

YOU have heard the Queen's Proclamation read to you for the Incouragement of Virtue, and the Suppreſſion of Vice, Profaneneſs, and Immorality.

'TIS the great Happineſs of *England*, that we have a Queen on our Throne who is not content with being a living Example of Piety and Goodneſs to her People, but does likewiſe recommend the Practice of them to others by all due Rewards and Incouragements; and takes care to check the growth of Impiety and Debauchery, by letting looſe the Laws with their utmoſt Severity againſt them.

ONE would think in a Chriſtian Nation, that Religion and Conſcience, our own Hopes and Fears, the Proſpect of eternal Happineſs or endleſs Miſery, ſhou'd be Conſiderations ſtrong enough to lay an effectual Reſtraint on the moſt violent Luſts and Appetites: but we find the contrary by ſad Experience; and therefore the Wiſdom of the Legiſlative Power has thought it neceſſary to interpoſe, and to back and inforce the Obligations of the Law of God by the addition of temporal Penalties: Not that human Laws can add any Weight or Authority to the Truth of Divine Revelation, but the Puniſhments they inflict being

being nearer in view, work more ſtrongly on our Fears, and are apt to ſway more with unthinking Men than the diſtant Puniſhments of another Life. 'Tis with this Deſign that her Majeſty has commanded us to put the Laws ſeverely in execution againſt all kinds of Profaneneſs and Immorality.

UNDER the Head of Profaneneſs is included Blaſphemy, idle Curſing and Swearing, the taking God's Name in vain, and the Breach of the Sabbath.

IDLE Swearing is forbid by the third Commandment, and is of all other Sins the moſt inexcuſable, becauſe 'tis the moſt unaccountable. What Temptation of Pleaſure or Profit has any Man to induce him to it? and can there be a greater Affront to God Almighty, than to invoke his Name on every trifling Occaſion? Beſides, an Habit of profane Swearing, by degrees leſſens our Awe and Regard for Oaths on more ſolemn and neceſſary Occaſions, and leads Men inſenſibly to wilful and corrupt Perjury; and when

when we have loſt all Reſpect for the Obligation of Oaths, there is an end of all our Courts of Judicature; we have no other way to judge of Right or Wrong, Truth or Falſhood, nor any Security left us for our Lives and Property, when the Reverence for that ſolemn Appeal to Almighty God is once extinguiſh'd in our Minds.

THE Breach of the Sabbath is forbidden by the Law of God, and puniſh'd with ſevere Penalties by our Laws. It has been the peculiar Honour of our Government, that the Obſervation of the Sabbath has been more ſtrictly enjoin'd by our Laws than by any other Chriſtian Community whatſoever; and 'tis great Pity that ſuch excellent Laws ſhould loſe their edge for want of a vigorous Execution.

AMONG many other Immoralities which are too frequent among us, Drunkenneſs, for this laſt Age, ſeems to have been the prevailing Vice of the *Engliſh*, and has juſtly render'd us the Scorn and Reproach of all our Neighbours, who pretend

tend to more Civility and Politeneſs of Manners. This Vice, in its own nature, carries ſo much Brutality with it, is ſo notoriouſly contrary to the Laws of God and Man, is ſo ſcandalous to the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and ſo unworthy of a rational Creature, that the bare naming it is expoſing it to the Abhorrence of all good Men, and it needs no Aggravations to make it blacker.

THERE are other kinds of Vice and Immoralities, which, for Brevity ſake, I ſhall omit; and ſhall content my ſelf to tell you, that it becomes us all, in our ſeveral Stations, to ſecond the pious Intentions of the Queen, to ſet our helping Hand towards reforming the Manners of the People, and reſtoring them to their antient Sobriety and Virtue.

ONE wou'd think this were no hard Task to perform, if Men wou'd but conſider, that 'tis not only our Duty but our Intereſt to be virtuous: among a thouſand Advantages that Chriſtianity has, above all other Religions, this is none of the leaſt,

leaſt, that it has united our Intereſt and our Duty together. Would not a wiſe Man be chaſte for the ſake of Health, honeſt for the ſake of Profit, temperate for the ſake of Pleaſure, and all three for the ſake of Fame? For Vice was never yet ſo triumphant as to be in greater Reputation than Virtue. The moſt immoral Men ſtudy to be thought virtuous, which is a ſecret Compliment that Vice will always pay to Virtue.

THESE Conſiderations, together with the innumerable Miſchiefs and Inconveniences which attend a vicious Courſe of Life, ought in reaſon to reclaim Men from theſe unmanly Exceſſes. I am ſure there are other Conſiderations which ought to excite all good Men to make a ſtand againſt that Torrent of Corruption which begins to threaten us; for beſides its ill Effects on private Men, it never fails to have a fatal Influence on the Peace, the Safety, and Liberties of a Nation, where 'tis ſuffer'd to prevail univerſally.

A GENERAL Corruption of Manners, is not only the certain Symptom and Preſage

Preſage that a Nation is ripe for Ruin, but is the natural Cauſe and Principle of the Decay and Deſtruction of all Governments: when Debauchery has infected the Manners of a Nation, it of courſe extinguiſhes all publick Spirit and Love of their Country, it debaſes the natural Courage and Bravery of the common People; and in the Gentry it deſtroys that Emulation of Glory which is the root of all noble Actions. Men who are abandon'd over to theſe brutal Pleaſures, have nothing in view but their private Intereſt; they loſe the Ambition of doing well and the Shame of doing ill, and Contempt of publick Fame always begets a Contempt of publick Virtue: this will create a total Neglect of their Laws and Orders, will produce Faction in the State, Treachery in their Counſels, Cowardice and ill Diſcipline in their Armies, and expoſe them an eaſy Prey to the firſt Invader.

BUT I thank God our Caſe is not ſo deſperate, we have every thing to hope for from the excellent Example of our Queen, and from the united Endeavours of

of many publick-ſpirited Perſons, who have form'd themſelves into Societies for the more vigorous Execution of the Laws againſt Profaneneſs and Debauchery; they have ſucceſsfully attack'd this growing Evil in its head Quarters, the City of *London*, and have held it at a bay for ſome time. 'Tis to be hop'd their Example will ſpread farther, and in the end maſter all Oppoſition.

ONE of the greateſt Obſtacles, in my Opinion, to the Reformation of Manners, is, that too many Men place all Virtue and Religion in warmly adhering to the Intereſt of this or that particular Sect or Party: as if a fiery Zeal for the Church, or the Meeting-Houſe, cou'd atone for Leudneſs and Debauchery; or as if vicious and immoral Men cou'd be of any Chriſtian Church or Community. Men muſt be good Heathens before they pretend to be good Chriſtians.

AFTER the Service we owe to Almighty God, with which nothing ought to come in competition, the next Duty

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we owe is to our Queen, our Country, and our Government; and for the Preſervation of all theſe, I muſt recommend to you to inquire into all Treaſons and Miſpriſions of Treaſons.

THE Perſons of our Princes have been always held ſacred by our Laws; and all Attempts upon their Lives, or to raiſe Rebellions, or levy War againſt them, nay the bare Intention of doing it, if manifeſted by any Overt-Act, is made Treaſon by our Conſtitution, and puniſh'd with Death and Forfeiture of Eſtate: and if ever the People of *England* had reaſon to be careful and ſollicitous for the Life of their Prince, 'tis now in this Juncture, when the Welfare, the Repoſe, and the Safety of our Country ſo intirely depend on the Life of the Queen.

WE enjoy, under her happy Reign, all the Bleſſings that a Sovereign can beſtow on Subjects, and want nothing to complete our Felicity but thankful Hearts to acknowledge it: by her wiſe Conduct and Counſels we have Peace at home and Vic-

tory abroad; Juſtice is duly and impartially adminiſter'd, Vice and Debauchery are diſcourag'd, and Virtue and Merit are rewarded; the true Intereſt of the Nation is ſteddily purſu'd, and the great Fences of our Freedom and Religion inviolably maintain'd; and all farther Securities for the Preſervation of both are cheerfully granted. Above all, the eſtabliſh'd Church is in no danger; and what adds extremely to the Glory of her Majeſty's Government, ſhe ſcorns to be the Head of a Sect or Party, and Queen only of one Part of her People; but reſolves to be the common Mother of them all, and to extend the Bleſſings of her Reign to all her Subjects, without diſtinction: ſhe has no other Views but to make all eaſy and happy, to unite their Hearts and Intereſt, and render them as well affected to one another as all ought to be to her. It muſt be confeſs'd, that our Payments to the Publick are high and heavy; but no wiſe Man will repine at them, when he reflects that the vaſt Expences of the War render them unavoidable; and never was any War undertaken upon more juſt and neceſſary Reaſons: we

are not contending for points of Honour, for the right of the Flag, or the dominion of the narrow Seas: on the *French* ſide 'tis a War for lawleſs Power and univerſal Monarchy; on ours 'tis a Defence of our Religion, Liberty and Property, the only things worth living for, and the only things worth dying for. We are diſputing whether we ſhall be *Frenchmen* or *Engliſhmen*, Papiſts or Proteſtants, Freemen or Slaves; and did ever any Nation draw their Swords in a nobler or a juſter Quarrel?

'TIS firſt in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, that is, primitive Chriſtianity reſtor'd; 'tis to preſerve the beſt Religion that ever was in the World, and to keep out the moſt abſurd, the moſt impious, and the moſt bloody one that ever the Madneſs or Wickedneſs of Men or Devils invented; a Religion which requires us to renounce the very Evidence of our Senſes in the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; a Doctrine ſtuff'd with a whole Legion of Contradictions and impoſſible Falſhoods; a Religion which im-

piouſly extinguiſhes all Morality, and diſſolves the very bands of Society, by allowing Equivocation and mental Reſervation, and that damnable Maxim, That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, and no Villany ſtuck at for the Advancement of their Cauſe; a Church that commands all her Followers, upon pain of Damnation, to root out with Fire and Sword all who refuſe to bow down to her Idolatry and Superſtition. Is not this to deprive Men of their Senſe, Reaſon, Morality, and common Humanity? and is not ſuch a helliſh Church well worth fighting againſt?

IN the next place, we are defending the Civil Rights, the Liberty and Property of *England*. The Cauſe of Liberty is too good to need an Advocate; 'twould be a jeſt to ſearch for Arguments to convince *Engliſhmen*, that 'tis their Intereſt to live free and independent, and to be rather govern'd by known Laws than the Luſts and Paſſions of a private Will. 'Twould be equally ridiculous to ask an *Engliſh* Freeholder, whether he does not think the Laws of *England* a better Security for his Property,

Property, than ſtanding Armies and arbitrary Power, which is the *French* Government.

THUS you ſee that Religion, Liberty and Property, are the invaluable Bleſſings we are now contending for, which our Anceſtors convey'd down to us; and 'tis our Duty to tranſmit them entire to our Poſterity. 'Tis as clear as the Sun, that if *France* prevails in this War, all theſe are loſt, and that we ſhall be dragoon'd into Idolatry, Slavery, and wooden Shoes; 'tis the Duty therefore of every *Engliſhman*, who lays the Honour and Intereſt of his Country to heart, to contribute cheerfully to the publick Aids, in order to prevent the Miſeries we are threatned with, that the next Age may have no reaſon to reproach us that we loſt our Freedom, and became a Province to *France*, by grudging to pay two or three Land-Taxes. There are many other Motives to incourage us to pay our Taxes with Alacrity, as, that we live in Peace and Quiet, while the beſt Countries in *Europe* are the ſeat of War, laid waſte with Fire and Sword, and equally

ruin'd by Friends and Foes; that they are not rais'd to ſupport the Vanity and Luxury of a Court, for you ſee the Queen every Year contributes largely to the War out of her own private Revenue: they are not pay'd to enrich Minions and Favourites, for the Queen has no Favourites but what are the Peoples too: What we pay is punctually apply'd to the Service to which it is appropriated, and the whole manag'd with exquiſite Conduct and Frugality by the Lord Treaſurer. And indeed 'tis our great Happineſs, that the Purſe and Sword of *England* were never in better Hands; we were never before at the ſame time bleſs'd with ſuch a Treaſurer and ſuch a General.

BUT nothing ought more to raiſe our Spirits than the near Proſpect of the recovery of the *Spaniſh* MONARCHY, which will reſtore the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, put an end to all our Payments, and effectually retrieve our foreign Trade and Commerce; we have all imaginable grounds to hope that the War in *Spain* and every where elſe will conclude to the Honour and Ad-

vantage of *England*; we have reaſon to expect it from the Goodneſs of our Cauſe, from the Conſtancy and Reſolution of the Queen, from the Wiſdom of our Counſels, from the Bravery of our Troops, from the Conduct and Valour of our Generals, from the Firmneſs of our Allies, from the Unanimity of our Parliament; but above all, from the Bleſſing of Almighty God, which ſo viſibly attends the Juſtice of our Arms, and has ſo often and ſo wonderfully declar'd for us. We may juſtly hope, that as Queen *Elizabeth* ſet bounds to the Ambition of *Spain*, ſo the Glory of humbling *France* is reſerv'd by Heaven to reward the Virtue and Piety of our Queen; and that all the ineſtimable Bleſſings we enjoy under her Reign will be entail'd down to future Ages, under a laſting Succeſſion of Proteſtant Princes. Nothing is ſo likely, in all human probability, to blaſt all our Hopes, and defeat the great Ends we have ſo near in view, as our own fatal Diviſions and Animoſities: 'tis ſtrange that the common Ties of our Religion, and our common Intereſt and Danger, cannot unite us againſt our common Enemies; 'tis the Du-

ty of all to ſacrifice their private Quarrels and Contentions to the publick Safety of the Kingdom; we ſhould conſider that we are all Members of the ſame Society, Subjects of the ſame Queen, and Servants of the ſame God.

AFTER Treaſons, you are in the next place to make enquiry into Burglaries, Felonies, and petty Larcenies; in a word, into all Crimes and Miſdemeanors, from Treaſons down to Treſpaſſes. But you are all Men of good Underſtandings, and know your Duty ſo well, that for the preſent I ſhall diſmiſs you.

Mr.

Mr. *MOYLE's*

LETTERS

TO

Dr. *William Muſgrave*

OF

EXETER.

Mr. *MOYLE*'s LETTERS TO Dr. *William Muſgrave.*

LETTER I.

Bake, May 11, 1709.

I HAD this Day the Favour of yours, with the Inſcription newly found at the *Bath*; for which I return you my hearty Thanks. I can pretend to no great Skill in theſe matters; but ſince you ask my opinion, I'll

I'll give it with my uſual Frankneſs, not doubting but you'll receive it with your uſual Candour. There ſeems to be no great difficulty in this Inſcription: 'tis but correcting the ill Spelling of the Stone-Cutter, and explaining the notes of Abbreviation, and the Senſe will be very plain. In my opinion it ought to be thus read and pointed:

JULIUS Vitalis Fabricienſis, Legionis XX*æ Valentis, Victricis, Stipendiorum* IX, *annorum* XXIX, *Natione Belga, ex Collegio Fabricenſium elatus, Hic ſitus eſt.* i. e.

JULIUS Vitalis Fabricienſis, A Soldier of the XXth Legion, ſirnam'd *Valens*, and *Victrix*, having ſerv'd IX Years in the Army, and liv'd XXIX, being by Nation a *Belgian*, and a Member of the Company or Corporation of Armourers, after his Funeral Rites had been ſolemniz'd, lies here interr'd.

I SHALL now explain the ſeveral Parts of the Inſcription.

JULIUS Vitalis.] We have this Name in GRUTER's Inſcriptions, *p.* 241.

FABRICIENSIS.] I do not remember to have ever met with the Name. I firſt thought 'twas the Name of his Trade, (but then it ſhould have been *Fabricenſis*) or at leaſt the Name of his Country: but his Trade and Country being ſet down at the end of the Inſcription, I take it for granted to be the *Cognomen* or *Agnomen* of *Julius Vitalis.*

LEGIONIS XX*æ Valentis, Victricis.*] We meet with the Name of the *Legio* XX*a Valens, Victrix*, in ſix Inſcriptions of GRUTER; in four of them 'tis written in Words at length, (*p.* 256. 8. 492. 5. 537. 6. 1101. 5.) in two of them 'tis written in the ſame Notes of Abbreviation, as are in the *Bath* Inſcription, (*p.* 350. 1. 483. 4.)

EX

EX Collegio Fabricenſium.] The Author of the *Notitia Imperii*, who flouriſh'd under THEODOSIUS II. ſays, That there were in the Empire thirty four *publicæ armorum Fabricæ*, or Places where Arms and all military Engines were made, (vid. *Pancirollum ad notitiam Imperii Orient.* c. 66. *ad notit. Occiden.* c. 31.) The Companies of Artificers who wrought in theſe *Fabricæ*, were ſtyl'd *Fabricenſes*, as appears from JUSTINIAN's *Code* (*lib.* 2. *tit.* 9.) where there is a whole Title *de Fabricenſibus*. Some of theſe *Fabricenſes* conſtantly follow'd the Camp, and belong'd to the Train of each Legion, as you may ſee in *Vegetius*, (*lib.* 2. c. 11.) and of this number I take *Julius Vitalis* to have been, as well as a Soldier in the Legion.

ELATUS.] *Efferre*, i. e. *ad Sepulturam ferre. Servius ad Virg.* Æn. 11. v. 183. *Effertur*, *Terent. Andr.* Act 1. Sc. 1. *ubi vide Donat. De publico eſt elatus*, *Liv.* lib. 2. c. 16. *Ex teſtamento ſic eſt elata*, *Hor. Sat.* V. lib. 2. v. 85. So that *elatus* here ſignifies that he was carry'd

carry'd to his Grave with the uſual Solemnity. *Elatus* cannot be join'd with *ex Collegio*; for *Collegium* only ſignifies the Society or Company, but never the Place of their Reſidence or Meeting, not even in the moſt barbarous Authors of theſe Ages.

AS for the Date of the Inſcription, 'twas certainly written after the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity: The Omiſſion of *Diis Manibus* at the beginning of the Inſcription, ſhows it plainly to be the Monument of a Chriſtian.

I HAVE now, in compliance with your Requeſt, given you my ſudden Thoughts upon this Inſcription; and in return I beg of you to communicate to me the different Sentiments of other Gentlemen on the ſame Subject, with your own Thoughts upon the whole. I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER II.

SIR, *Bath, July* 14. 1709.

I HAVE the Favour of yours, and am very much oblig'd to you for your kind Thoughts of my Remarks on the *Bath* Inſcription. But I am not vain enough to publiſh ſo haſty a Performance to the World; eſpecially, when ſuch able Criticks as your ſelf, and Mr. DODWELL, are preparing Diſſertations at large upon it.

I HAVE examin'd the Inſcription very nicely, and can give you an eaſy Anſwer to your Queries.

IN the firſt place, all the U's in the Inſcription are clos'd at the bottom, in this manner, V.

AS for the Points of Diſtinction, they are in the firſt three Lines triangular, like a Pyramid inverted, in this Shape ▼, except after the laſt V, where the Point is a plain Rhombus ◆. In the four following Lines

Lines the Points are a little worn, and defac'd; and ſeem to be all of an irregular Figure: as you may ſee in the inclos'd Copy. After the Word COLECIO, there is no Point, for want of room as I gueſs. In Line the eighth and ninth the Points are triangular. Between HSE there are no Points of Diſtinction at all.

IN the middle of the Inſcription, the Words and Letters are crouded cloſer together, and the Points are much leſs than in the beginning; which was done deſignedly by the Stone-Cutter, as I ſuppoſe, for fear he ſhou'd want room. In the two laſt Lines the Letters are plac'd at a greater diſtance from each other.

I INTEND to wait on you at *EXETER* in my way homeward; when I hope to have the Happineſs of ſeeing your Remarks on this Inſcription, which I am ſure will give me an entire Satisfaction. In the mean time I am, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER III.

SIR, *Bake, Sept.* 19. 1709.

I AM afraid you think me unmindful of the Promiſe I made you at parting, to ſend you a Copy of the Inſcription near *Fowey* in *Cornwall.* I have had ſeveral Relations of it from Gentlemen who live in the Neghbourhood, who all aſſure me 'tis ſo worn out and defac'd that 'tis no longer legible; which has diſcourag'd me from giving my ſelf the trouble of ſo long a Journey. The Inſcription is on a Moor-Stone Croſs about nine Foot high, ſet up in the High-way; and ſome Gentlemen who read it when it was pretty entire, have given me this Copy of it:

Ceruſius hic jacet Huromori Filius.

THE Croſs and the Names (which I can't find in GRUTER's Index) make me believe it an Inſcription made after the *Romans* had quitted *Britain.*

I LONG to ſee your Diſſertation on the *Bath* Inſcription made publick. The Performances you have already oblig'd the World with, have been read with ſuch univerſal Satisfaction, that we all wait for more of them with the utmoſt Impatience: but no one more than, S I R, *&c.*

YOU'LL extremely oblige me by letting me know if in all your Reading you ever met with any other *Legio fulminatrix* except the *Duodecima*, mention'd by DIO. CASSIUS, the *Notitia*, and many of GRUTER's Inſcriptions. Particularly, I ſhou'd be glad to learn whether it may fairly be inferr'd from GOLTZIUS's Coins, that there were more Legions than one of that Name.

LETTER IV.

SIR, *Aug.* 22. 1711.

I GAVE Mr. KING, laſt Week, a ſhort Account of the Inſcription near *Fowey*, which I deſir'd him to communicate to you, together with my Apology for not ſending it ſooner. I preſume he has by this time ſhewn you that part of my Letter, and therefore I won't give you the trouble of repeating what I have ſaid on that head, but ſhall paſs on directly to the Buſineſs in hand.

IN the firſt place, you have a rough Draught of the Stone, with the Inſcription, in the ſame manner as it ſtands on the Monument.

Mr. CAREW is the only Writer I know of who has taken notice of this Monument, in his Survey of *Cornwal*, (*p.* 136.) printed *A. D.* 1602. It then lay flat on the Ground, as he ſeems to intimate, and as I have been inform'd by ſeveral

veral others; and 'tis not many Years ſince 'twas again ſet upright. The *ingrav'd Letters*, he ſays, were in his time *paſt ability of Reading*: In which I am ſure he is miſtaken; for they are ſtill, for the moſt part, fair and legible. He adds a pleaſant Story about the Stone, too long to be tranſcrib'd.

THIS Monument ſtands in the Pariſh of *Fowey*, about a Mile from the Town, in the high Road which leads to *Leſtwithiel*. 'Tis a big ſquare Moor-Stone, but not exactly ſquar'd; for neither of the Corners makes a Right-Angle. 'Tis, as I judg, about eight Foot above the Ground, and near two Foot broad at the bottom, leſſening gradually to the top; from the middle to the top, a Piece of it is broken off, as you may ſee in the Figure. 'Tis a rude unpoliſh'd Stone. On the *Eaſtern* ſide, oppoſite to the Inſcription, is a Croſs, wretchedly ingrav'd, not cut into the Stone, but rais'd by a ſmall *relievo* above the Surface. At the top there is an Hole, or Mortiſe, about three Inches deep, and ſomewhat broader; made, as ſome think, to

receive a Croſs-Stone. There is ſuch another Mortiſe at the top of the half Stone, in *St. Cleer* in *Cornwal*, as you may ſee in Mr. CAMDEN, and Mr. CAREW's Survey of *Cornwal*, (p. 129.)

AS to the Inſcription it ſelf, it is written in ſquare *Roman* Capitals. The Letters are a little irregular in their depth and breadth, and ſet at unequal Diſtances, without any Points of Diſtinction to ſeparate the Words; and the Surface of the Monument being rough and unpoliſh'd, 'tis not eaſy, in ſome Places, without a good deal of Application, to diſtinguiſh the Flaws of the Stone from the Strokes of the Letters, which are not cut deep, but very ſhallow; whether originally ſo, or worn by Time, I can't determine. The outer part of the four laſt Letters in *Ceruſius*, is a little defac'd by a Crack in the Stone, but they are ſtill legible enough. I have ſo ill a hand at deſigning, that I can't pretend to give you an exact Draught of the Shape and Figure of the Characters.

THE

THE only Letter I doubt of is the W, in *Cunowori*. But Canon KENDAL, who view'd the Stone with me, was poſitive that 'twas W, and not M, as I would have read it. Mr. LLOYD, the Antiquary, who copy'd this Inſcription, *A. D.* 1701, took it to be M, as I am credibly aſſur'd: And ſince the Inſcription is written in the *Latin* Tongue, which has no W in it, and ſince the Monument was ſet up by the *Britans*, who never us'd that Letter till the Year 1200, (LLOYD's *Archæolog. Brit.* p. 229. printed ſome Years after this Inſcription was copy'd) I conclude it muſt be M. The Stroke that looks like the firſt Leg of the W, I took to be only a Scar in the Stone, and that the firſt Stroke of the O, which follows, was common to the laſt Leg of the M, in this manner MO. Nothing, you know, is more frequent in old Inſcriptions, than this compendious way of writing; ſo that, upon the whole matter, I am perſuaded it ſhould be read *Cunomori*.

THIS Inſcription, tho written in *Latin*, was, I believe, ſet up by the *Britans*; for Mr. LLOYD obſerves, (*Archæol. Brit.* p. 227.) that the Names inſcrib'd on the Monuments in *Wales*, tho ſet up by the *Welſh*, are moſt, if not all *Latin*. I fancy that *Ceruſius Cunomori Filius*, turn'd into old *Britiſh*, would be *Kerus ap Kyn maur*. I write it as they pronounc'd it: For the *Britans* had no K in their Language, till the Year 1200; but the C, even before E and I, was pronounc'd like our K, (LLOYD'S *Archæol.* p. 228.) I am not *Corniſhman* enough to fetch *Kerus* from a *Britiſh* Root, but Mr. LLOYD very luckily obſerv'd, that there lay a little Fiſher-Town on *Trewardreth* Bay, about a Mile and half to the *Weſtward* of this Monument, which is call'd *Pol-Keries*, (as Mr. CAMDEN ſpells it in his Map) or as the common People pronounce it, *Pol-Kerus*; which Place, he fancies, took its Name from our *Ceruſius*. As for *Cunomorus*, the very Sound ſhews it to be a *Britiſh* Name. CAMDEN, in his Notes on the *Britiſh* Coins, has given us

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a Liſt of *Britiſh* Names which begin with *Cuno*; and he has try'd to explain the Signification of it. But Mr. LLOYD, who was much better skill'd in the *Britiſh* Tongue, ſays, (*Archæol.* p. 227.) that the *Romans* and *Britans*, who wrote *Latin*, in their Tranſlation of the *Britiſh* Names, chang'd *Kyn* into *Cuno*; of which he gives us an Inſtance in *Kynvelyn*, which they render'd *Cunobelinus*, and in other like Words. *Maur* to this Day, in *Welſh* and *Corniſh*, ſignifies *great*, (LLOYD's *Archæol.* p. 84. in *Magnus*.) And the *Latins* tranſlated it *Morus*, and not *Maurus*; becauſe the old *Britans* pronounc'd *au* in the final Syllable, as the *French* do, like our O, (LLOYD's *Archæol.* p. 226.) I can hardly think that *Ceruſius* and *Cunomorus* were originally *Roman* Names, becauſe I can't meet with them in GRUTER's Index of proper Names, nor any where elſe.

ONE wou'd be apt to conclude from the Meanneſs of the Monument, that *Ceruſius* was a Man of no great Rank or Quality: But this Argument will have leſs

weight in it, if we conſider that the great *Britiſh* Hero King ARTHUR was almoſt as meanly interr'd at *Glaſtenbury*, if we may believe GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, an Eye-witneſs of the Tomb, as cited by CAMDEN, who does not pretend to queſtion his Authority.

THE ſureſt Proofs for the Antiquity of this Monument, muſt be drawn from the Antiquity of the Characters; which, as I obſerv'd before, are ſquare *Roman* Capitals. The Letters taken ſingly are as well cut as thoſe in the *Bath* Inſcription, thφ the Order and Diſpoſition of them be not ſo even and uniform. In other reſpects they reſemble the common Inſcriptions of the fourth and fifth Century. And that this Monument is not of a later Date, I am fully perſuaded; for 'tis manifeſt, from the *Latin* Inſcriptions ſet up by the *Britans* in the ſixth Century, that they had then corrupted their *Roman* Alphabet, and chang'd their Orthography, as appears from King ARTHUR's Epitaph in that Century; which is all written in a barbarous Letter, that

that has not the leaſt Reſemblance with the Characters on our Monument.

THE *Britiſh* Orthography had ſuffer'd a far greater Change in the ninth Century, as is viſible from another *Britiſh* Monument at *St. Cleer* in *Cornwal*, erected by DONIERT, or DUNGIRTH, a Prince of *Cornwal*, whoſe Death Mr. CAMDEN fixes to the Year 872. That this DUNGERTH was a *Britiſh* and not a *Saxon* Prince of *Cornwal*, is pretty certain; becauſe the *Saxons* were not Maſters of *Cornwal* till the Reign of King ATHELSTANE, about ſixty Years after. The Inſcription on this Monument has ſuch a Mixture of *Roman*, *Saxon*, and other barbarous Characters in it, that 'tis hardly legible.

FROM all this I am apt to believe that this Stone was ſet up before the Corruption of the *Britiſh* Orthography, and is conſequently elder than the ſixth Century.

BUT

BUT I have another Argument behind, which may carry the Date of this Inſcription a good deal higher, if we ſuppoſe CERUSIUS a Chriſtian, which is pretty plain from the Croſs on his Grave-Stone. The Monument, as I obſerv'd before, ſtands in the High-way between *Fowey* and *Leſtwithiel*; and there is no Church, nor the Ruins of any Church or Cœmetery near it. The Heathen *Romans*, and the Romaniz'd Provinces, as every body knows, bury'd in their High-ways: And 'tis as certain, that the Chriſtians, long before CONSTANTINE, in many places had diſtinct Cœmeteries of their own, where they bury'd their Dead, unleſs in times of Perſecution, when the Government commonly ſeiz'd upon 'em. After the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, this Cuſtom prevail'd ſo univerſally, that St. CHRYSOSTOM, at the end of the fourth Century, (as I find him cited by MURETUS) aſſures us there was no City, Town or Village in the Empire, which had not a Cœmetery belonging to it; and conſequently they had entirely left off burying with the Heathens.

From

From all which it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that CERUSIUS, whoſe Grave lies in the High-way, was bury'd there before the end of that Century.

I ONCE believ'd the Croſs on the Grave-Stone to be a Note of a lower Age than the fourth Century: but upon ſecond thoughts, I recollected, (if my Memory does not deceive me) that there are ſeveral Inſtances to be found in ARINGHI's *Roma Subterranea*, of Chriſtian Monuments with Croſſes ingraven on them, in the ſame Century, and earlier.

THE Hole, or Mortiſe, at the top of the Stone, ſeems another Objection againſt its Antiquity, if 'twas made, as ſome ſuppoſe, to hold a Croſs-Stone; for I don't think the Cuſtom of erecting Croſſes in the High-ways, ſo antient as the fourth Century. But who is ſure the Mortiſe was made for that purpoſe? It might as well ſerve for the Pedeſtal of a little Statue, or twenty other Uſes which we are now ignorant of. There is juſt the ſame Mortiſe in the Monument of *St. Cleer*, which, as

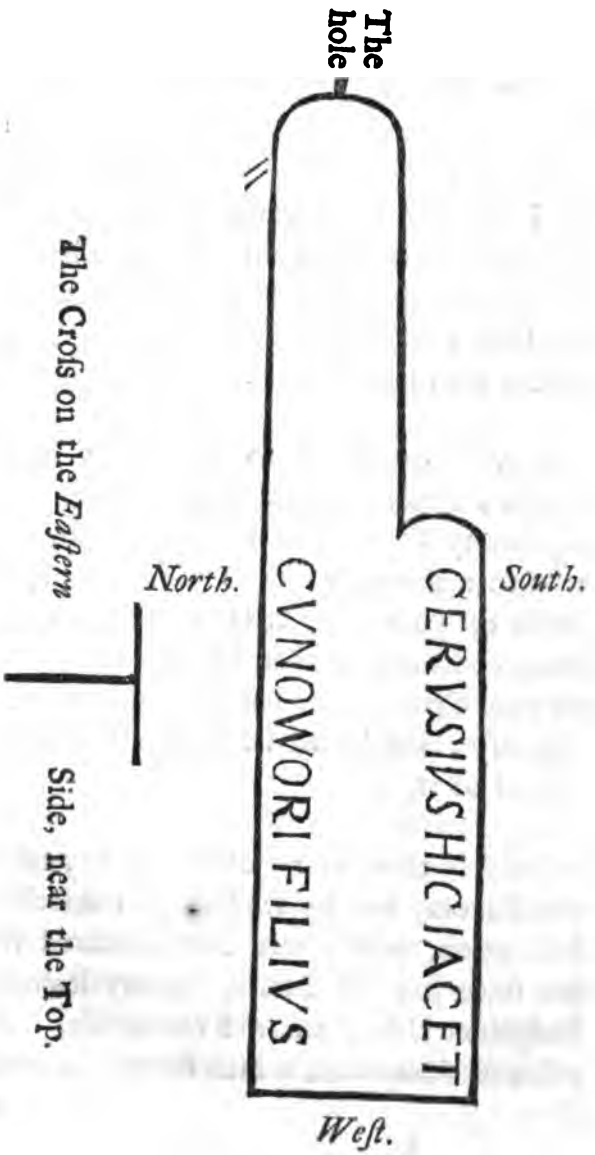
is

is viſible from the Inſcription, was erected upon another Account. And after all, 'tis poſſible, that tho it was originally ſet up for a Grave-Stone, it might be converted to a Croſs by the Superſtition of after Times.

THUS, Sir, I have given you a full Account of this Inſcription, with all the Circumſtances which I thought neceſſary to give Light to the Age of the Monument. I have added ſome Remarks, which I hope you will conſider, as I propoſe them, for mere Conjectures, which I entirely ſubmit to your Judgment: And if I have ſaid any thing upon this Subject which may furniſh new Matter for the Inquiries of ſo great a Critick and Antiquary, I ſhall think the little Pains I have been at extremely well employ'd. I am, *&c.*

P. S. IT might be worth your Pains to write to ſome of your Friends in *Oxford*, to enquire into whoſe Hands Mr. LLOYD's Papers fell, after his Death: By this means we might perhaps get a ſight of his Copy of the Inſcription, and his Remarks upon it.

The


The hole
CERVSIVS HIC IACET
CVNOWORI FILIVS
South.
North.
West.
The Croſs on the *Eaſtern*
Side, near the Top.

LETTER V.

SIR, *Octob.* 15. 1711.

I HAD this Morning the Favour of your Letter, and am perfectly aſham'd of the Compliment you have made me for ſuch a Trifle, which I can no more anſwer than I can deſerve.

I AM overjoy'd to hear that your *Julius Vitalis* is come out. I give you my hearty Thanks for the Preſent you intend to make me of it. I have ſo true a Senſe of your wonderful Abilities in all Parts of Learning, that I take it for granted your Performance has been very extraordinary: and I ſhall be in pain till I have a ſight of it.

I CAN think of no other way to return this Favour, but by ſending you another Inſcription, which was communicated to me ſince my laſt Letter, by my learned Neighbour Mr. LEWIS STEPHENS, Miniſter of *Minhiniot*, which he copy'd from

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a Memorandum of Mr. LLOYD, of which I ſend you this exact Tranſcript.

THE Tombſtone of an antient *Britan* (at leaſt a thouſand Years ſtanding) whoſe Name was *Riwalthuran ap Kynwal*, which in *Latin*, according to the Orthography of that Age, is, *Kalobran Cunoval Fil*, which lies in a Common call'd *Gimnen Screpha*, in *Maddern* Pariſh.

MADDERN Pariſh is near the Land's End, about ſixty Miles from my Houſe. Mr. STEPHENS tells me, that the Inſcription is *Kalobran Cunoval Fil*, and the reſt is Mr. LLOYD's Tranſlation of it into *Britiſh* (according to the preſent Orthography, as I ſuppoſe.) I told him that I fancy'd he had made a Miſtake in copying the firſt Word, which I believe in Mr. LLOYD's Note was written *Khiwalhuran*, and not *Rhiwalhuran*; which can never be a Tranſlation of *Calobran*. I will write in a Poſt or two to a Clergyman, who lives near *Maddern*, to ſend me an exact Copy of this Inſcription, with ſome other Circumſtances which are neceſſary to gueſs

gueſs at the Age of the Monument; and as ſoon as I have his Anſwer, I'll ſend you an Account of it: And, in the mean time, am, Sir, *&c.*

LETTER VI.

SIR, *Bake, Dec.* 10. 1711.

I GIVE you my hearty Thanks for your Preſent of *Julius Vitalis*, which came ſafe to my Hands about a Fortnight ſince. The Republick of Letters is highly oblig'd to you, for preſerving and explaining ſo noble a Monument of Antiquity. As for your Commentary upon the Inſcription, ſince you are pleas'd to ask my opinion, I muſt tell you, without Flattery, that 'tis in all reſpects a very maſterly Performance. The Compaſs and Application of ſo much Reading, the Force and Strength of your Arguments, with the Purity and Politeneſs of your Style, will be for ever admir'd by all good Judges. I have read it over ſeveral times, not only with the Kindneſs of a Friend, but the Ill-nature of

a Critick; and after the niceſt Enquiry can find no room left for any thing but Praiſe and Admiration. The only Objection the World will make to your Book, is the Character † you have given of me, which I am far enough from deſerving.

INSTEAD of *Valerianae Victricis*, I formerly thought it ſhou'd have been *Valentis Victricis*; but I am now thorowly convinc'd of my Miſtake. You have, with great Induſtry and Learning, trac'd the Name of that Legion as high as M. ANTONIUS: but there is a Paſſage in CÆSAR's *Commentaries*, which, if D. VOSSIUS has rightly explain'd it, will carry it ſomewhat higher. 'Tis in his third Book, *de Bell. Civ.* c. xlviii. p. 507. (*Edit. Daviſ. Cantab.*) *Eſt etiam genus radicis inventum ab iis qui fuerant cum Valerio*, &c. This D. VOSSIUS underſtands of the *Legio* XX*a Valeriana*. And his Obſervation I ſhou'd think very juſt, if it did appear from CÆSAR, or any other Writer, that the *Legio* XX*a* was preſent

† Vid. Comment. in Epit. Jul. Vital. p. 139.

in the *Pharſalian* War. But I can't recollect that any Author has made mention of this Legion, as ſerving under CÆSAR at that time: So I won't venture to pronounce deciſively on this Subject, but ſubmit it to your Judgment.

Mr. DODWELL (*p.* 30.) intimates, that the *Collegia* had particular Burying-places of their own; to which St. CYPRIAN ſeems to allude, (*Ep.* 67. p. 289. *Amſterd. Edit.*) *Martialis quoque præter Gentilium turpia & lutulenta convivia, & Collegia diu frequentata, & Filios in eodem Collegio exterarum gentium more, apud profana ſepulchra depoſitos, & alienigenis conſepultos*, &c. RIGALTIUS ſeems to underſtand this Paſſage in the ſame Senſe, which is indeed the moſt natural one; tho I can't deny but the Words will admit of another.

YOU have not poſitively determin'd whether *Cornwal* was ever conquer'd by the *Romans*. I have ſome Arguments to offer on that Subject, but I ſhall not mention them till I am firſt very ſure of the

Facts

Facts on which they are built. I have written to a Clergyman near the Land's end, to ſend me an exact Copy of the Inſcription, which I mention'd in my laſt Letter to you. I muſt now retract my Conjecture upon that Inſcription: I was then for reading it *Khiwalhuran*, and not *Rhiwalhuran ap Kynwal*, as Mr. LLOYD tranſlated it, according to the modern Orthography without doubt. But I am now of opinion that Mr. STEPHENS was miſtaken in tranſcribing the *Latin* Inſcription, and that it ſhou'd be read *Ralobran*, and not *Kalobran Cunoval Fil.* The Reaſon is plain; for Mr. LLOYD ſays in his *Archæol.* as I formerly obſerv'd, that the Letter K was unknown to the *Britans* till the Year 1200; and yet he ſays, that this Inſcription is at leaſt a thouſand Years ſtanding. But a Poſt or two will determine this matter, and I will take care to ſend you a Tranſcript of the Monument as ſoon as I can get it; and, in the mean time, I am, Sir, *&c.*

LETTER VII.

Honour'd Sir, *Jan.* 17. 27$\frac{11}{12}$.

I HAD laſt Week, in a Letter from Mr. STEPHEN LOBB, the Miniſter of *Penzance*, a Copy of the *Maddern* Inſcription, of which I ſend you, according to my Promiſe, an exact Tranſcript, together with that part of his Letter which relates to the Monument. You may depend upon its Accuracy; for he copy'd it from a Draught of Mr. LLOYD, which, for the greater Exactneſs, he compar'd with the Original.

Mr. LOBB has given a very particular Account of the Stone, *&c.* to which I refer you: I ſhall only add one Remark, which has eſcap'd him, That the next Pariſh to *Maddern*, where the Monument lies, is call'd *Kynwall* (or *Cynval*, according to the old Orthography) tho now it be corruptly pronounc'd *Gylval*, as Mr. LLOYD obſerves in his *Archæol. Brit.* p. 253. 'Tis very probable that the Village

lage where the Church now ſtands, and from thence the Pariſh, took its Name from this *Kynwall*; which ſhows him to be a Man of no ordinary Rank and Quality.

GIVE me leave, ſince I am upon this Subject, to make a few Obſervations upon the Orthography of this Inſcription. The Letters, you ſee, are all *Roman* Capitals, and written, like CERUSIUS's Inſcription, on the length of the Stone, contrary to the common Practice. The firſt A, as in the Monument of *Julius Vitalis*, wants the Croſs-Stroke, and the Baſe of the firſt U makes a little Arch, and not an acute Angle: which very much confirms your Obſervation on the Antiquity of that way of Writing.

THE little Line, at the end of each Word, ſeems very particular. Is it a note of Diſtinction to ſeparate the Words? or, what is moſt likely, a mark of Abbreviation, to ſhew that the Words were not written at full length, as they are not? For, were the Words at large, the Inſcrip-

tion muſt have been *Rialobranus Cunovali Filius*. But in all the Manuſcripts I have ſeen, that Mark is ſet over, and not at the end of the Words.

BUT the Figure of the N is the moſt ſingular of all. In the old Inſcriptions I have met with, the middle Stroke of that Letter, as I remember, is always a Diagonal, drawn from Corner to Corner; in this 'tis only an oblique Line, that touches neither of them. Dr. BERNARD, in his Alphabet of the ſeveral Ages of the *Latin* Language, publiſh'd by SPANHEIM, in his Book *De uſu & præſ. Num.* p. 114. *Ed. Lond.* gives us the Figure of the N of the fifth Century, which better reſembles the N on the *Maddern* Inſcription, tho not exactly, than any other which I have ſeen. Under the ſixth Century, the middle Stroke of the N, in the *Britiſh* Inſcriptions, was turn'd into a ſtrait Line, like a great H. Theſe two Obſervations may help to diſcover the Age of the Monument: for, if they are certain, the Inſcription, in all probability, was ſet up in the Interval between the beginning of the fifth, and the middle of the

the ſixth Century. This ſeems pretty certain from the Characters, which are all *Roman* Capitals, that 'twas ſet up before the Corruption of the *Britiſh* Alphabet; for which I refer you to my Remarks on the Tomb-Stone of CERUSIUS. Nor does Mr. LLOYD's Account differ from mine: he ſays, that 'twas at leaſt a thouſand Years ſtanding; which ſeems to imply that he ſuſpected, tho he was not certain, that the Monument might be elder than that Date.

THIS Monument (like that of CERUSIUS) ſtands in the High-way: But ſince it does not appear whether *Rhiwalluran* was a Chriſtian or Heathen, (tho the laſt ſeems moſt likely) no Conſequence can be drawn from that Circumſtance, for or againſt the Antiquity of the Inſcription. *Mabillon de Re Diplomatica*, and Mr. LLOYD's *Britiſh* Inſcriptions, in his Additions to CAMDEN's *Britannia* (neither of which Books I have by me) might have help'd me to ſettle the Age of this Monument with greater Exactneſs.

THIS, Sir, is the beſt Account I can give you of this antient Inſcription; and my Arguments for its Antiquity are, I own, but probable Conjectures, which I am forc'd to take up with for want of better Lights to guide me in ſo dark a Period: and I propoſe them with no other view than to ingage you in return to give me your Thoughts upon this Subject, which I ſhall receive with that Regard and Deference which all the World pays to you and your Writings; but none more than, Honour'd Sir, Yours, &c.

A Copy of Mr. Lobb's *Letter.*

SIR, Penzance, Jan. 5. 17$\frac{11}{12}$.

—— "I TOOK the firſt Opportu-
" nity to view the Stone you
" mention'd: It is call'd *Mèn Screpha*;
" which ſignifies, (as I ſuppoſe you may
" know) a Stone with an Inſcription on
" it, and gives a Name to the Downs on
" which it lies, which are call'd *Goon men*
" *Screpha.*

" THE Shape of it I have ſent you,
" which I think is pretty exact. I took
" it from a Copy drawn by Mr. Lloyd
" himſelf, and left by him with a Gentle-
" man in this Country, which I compar'd
" with the Stone. It is about ten Feet
" long, and two and a half broad, in the
" wideſt Places. The Letters are of an
" unequal ſize, as you may ſee by the
" Tranſcript of them. Some of them
" are five, and ſome not above three
" Inches long. The Monument lies juſt
" by a Road, which leads from *St. Ives*

" to

" to *St. Juſt.* There is no Croſs upon it,
" nor are there the Ruins of any Chap-
" pel or religious Houſe near it, ſo far as
" I can learn. Nor indeed is there any
" thing by which a Man may gueſs at the
" Age of it; unleſs they who are skilful
" in Antiquity can judge by the Characters
" which are upon it, or have heard any
" thing of the Perſon whoſe Memory it
" was deſign'd to preſerve. I am apt to
" think it ſtood formerly upon the End
" mark'd A; becauſe that End is ſtill a
" little way in the Ground, and there is
" under it a Pit about three Feet deep, with
" a pretty many Stones in it, which ſeem
" to have been deſign'd to wedge in and
" ſupport another of a greater Bulk; and
" if ſo, it is poſſible there may be ſome-
" thing more engrav'd on the other ſide;
" but 'twas not poſſible for me, at that
" time, to get it turn'd. However, this
" is but my Conjecture, and 'tis certain
" it has lain, as now it does, time out of
" mind.

" THIS is all the Account I am able
" to give you of the afore-mention'd Mo-
" nument;

" nument; and if this ſhall in any mea-
" ſure contribute to the gratifying of your
" Curioſity, I ſhall think my ſelf well re-
" quited for the little Trouble I have ta-
" ken: and I beg you to accept of it as an
" Earneſt of my Readineſs to ſerve you.
" And if at any other time, or upon any
" other Occaſion, it ſhall lie in my power
" to oblige you, be pleas'd to lay your
" Commands upon me, and they ſhall be
" moſt willingly obſerv'd by yours, *&c.*

STEPHEN LOBB.

RIALO-

Mèn Screpha.

RIALOBRAN—
CUNOVAL—FIL—
In *British*,
according to Mr. LHWYD,
Rhiwallturan mab Cynwal.

LETTER VIII.

SIR, *June* 22. 1713.

I GIVE you my hearty Thanks for your excellent Deſcription of the Epidemick Madneſs of the Nation, which in all its Symptoms is not to be match'd in the Hiſtory of any Age or People. LUCIAN, I remember, begins his Rules for writing Hiſtory with a pleaſant Story of the *Abderitæ*; who, he ſays, were ſo ſenſibly affected at the acting of EURIPIDES's *Andromeda*, that in a few Days they all loſt their Wits, and ran raving about the Streets, and crying out,

Σὺ δ' ᾧ Θεῶν τύραννε, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔρως.

In *Engliſh*,

The Temple of the Lord, The Church, The Church.

IT looks as if SACHEVERELL's Farce, by the help of H—— and S——, had had the ſame Effect on us as that Tragedy had on the People of *Abdera*; who, you know,

were in days of yore as famous for their Politicks and good Senſe, as the People of *England* are at preſent. However, there is this Difference, the Frenzy of *Abdera* vaniſh'd with the firſt Froſt; ours, it ſeems, is to laſt for two Years, and from thence to the end of next Seſſion of Parliament, and, I'm afraid, will never be thorowly cur'd but by opening the jugular Veins of ſome Perſons where the Infection began.

A FRIEND of mine, in a late Converſation we had on this Subject, told me, That he had been a long time at a loſs to diſcover the riſe of this Malady: that it cou'd not be accounted for by any natural, moral, or political Cauſes; inſomuch, that he was forc'd to have recourſe to Miracle and Church-Hiſtory: and that by good luck, in the courſe of his Inquiry, he had met with a parallel Caſe, which had help'd him to a rare Solution of this wonderful *Phænomenon*. He turn'd immediately to VICTOR TUNETENSIS, an *African* Biſhop, who wrote not long after the middle of the ſixth Century, and was a *Confeſſor* for

for *Orthodoxy*, in oppoſition to the *Eutychians*. This grave and judicious Author tells us, (*p.* 6. *Ed. Scaligeranæ*) that under the Reign of ANASTASIUS, *Venantio & Celere Coſſ.* A. C. 508, all the People of *Egypt*, high and low, great and ſmall, rich and poor, Monks, Prieſts, and all, except Strangers, were poſſeſs'd by the Devil; that inſtead of ſpeaking they bark'd like Dogs, gnaw'd their Hands and Arms, and committed a thouſand other Extravagancies; that they were dragg'd in Chains to the Churches, to be exorcis'd, *&c.* But, that at laſt it was reveal'd to ſome holy Men, that all this was a Judgment on them for anathematizing the Council of *Chalcedon*, with a Warning to abandon their Hereſy. He added, that PAULUS DIACONUS (*Lib.* XV. c. 14.) told the ſame Story, tho a little ſoften'd, by ſaying that not all, but many of the *Egyptians*, were poſſeſs'd by the Devil. I anſwer'd, that Circumſtance was well thought of by honeſt PAULUS; for 'tis contrary to the Rules of the Church for a Deacon to out-lye a Biſhop.

UPON

UPON the Authority of ſo venerable a Writer, my Friend concluded that 'twas poſſible for a whole Nation to be poſſeſs'd or obſeſs'd by the Devil, as our Divines very nicely diſtinguiſh. This he affirm'd to be our Caſe at preſent: Witneſs, ſays he, all our Symptoms, Barking, Railing, Lying, Worrying one another, with all the other Arts that have been employ'd to bring about this univerſal Defection from common Senſe and common Honeſty; with this ſad Difference between our Poſſeſſion and theirs, that our Devils have been caſt in by the Prieſts, but will never be caſt out.

IT wou'd make a pleaſant Scene in our Annals, ſays he, if any one wou'd be at the Pains, for the Benefit of Poſterity, to collect all the Addreſſes of Thanks for this glorious Peace, in the *Gazette*, and lay them parallel with the Petitions againſt it in the Votes, from the ſame Hands, and at the ſame Time. What can future Ages think of us, but that we are all diſtracted or poſſeſs'd by the Devil? And won't they

ſay,

ſay 'tis a Judgment on us for anathematizing a wiſer and honeſter Aſſembly than ever yet met in a general Council, *viz.* The Convention Parliament, and for damning our own Deliverance.

THE mention of the numerous Petitions againſt the *French* Trade, diverted the Diſcourſe to another Head. We both agreed that they were the *Via prima Salutis*, and the only Speck of Blue we had ſeen in the Sky theſe three Years: That the Proſpect of ſtarving had rouz'd the Mob out of their Lethargy; that, tho they reaſon'd wrong, they felt true, and might undo the Miſchief they had done. My Friend put me in mind of a Saying of LUCAN, *Neſcit Plebs jejuna timere*; and added, that a Party cou'd never ſtand their ground who were grown terrible to the Mob, *Periit poſtquam Cerdonibus eſſe timendus cœperat.* The Prieſts, ſays he, with all their conſecrated Lyes, can never preach them out of their Bread: And tho PLINY (*Lib.* vii. *c.* 30.) ſays of CICERO, upon the Occaſion of his Speeches againſt RULLUS's *Agrarian* Law, *Te dicente*

cente—alimenta ſua abdicaverunt Tribus; he bid me be in no pain, for the Prieſts were as much Strangers to the Eloquence as to the Honeſty of the *Roman* Conſul.

AS for your Queſtion about the *Roman* Eagles, I am not vain enough to ſet up for an Umpire between two ſuch Criticks as your ſelf and CUPERUS, eſpecially in a Controverſy which I never once thought of. I always took the receiv'd Opinion for granted, without any Inquiry; and for that Reaſon, you may eaſily imagine that many material Paſſages, relating to this Queſtion, may have eſcap'd my Obſervation. However, from the few I could recollect, I had deſign'd to ſend you my Thoughts on both ſides of the Queſtion: But having had continually Company with me, ever ſince I receiv'd your Letter, I wanted time to draw them up, but will ſend them to you in a Poſt or two, with no other Deſign, but to ingage you, in return, to communicate your own curious Obſervations upon this Subject; which will either reſolve my Doubts, or inform my Ignorance. I am deſtitute of all

all the beſt Helps to ſet me right in this Matter, wanting not only LIPSIUS *de Militia Romana*, but TRAJAN's *Pillar*, and ſeveral Books of Medals, which of all others are the ſureſt Guides in this Controverſy. I am, *&c.*

LETTER IX.

SIR, *Nov.* 6. 1713.

I ASK your Pardon for not ſooner returning you my Thanks for all your Civilities to me while I had the Happineſs of your Company at *Exeter*. I never ſpent five Days in my Life more agreeably, and I often reflect on it with great Satisfaction; and at the ſame time regret my hard Fortune in living at ſuch a diſtance from a Perſon for whoſe Acquaintance and Converſation I have ſo high an Eſteem.

I HAVE juſt finiſh'd my new Library, and am preparing to ſtock it as faſt as I can with the beſt Books and Editions; to which

end, I beg of you to let me know, when, where, and by whom, the fine Edition of MARTINIUS, which you ſhew'd me at *Exeter*, was publiſh'd. I want likewiſe to be inform'd whether the late *Utrecht* Edition of SALMASIUS's *Plinian Exercit.* is more correct than the *Paris* Edition, and what the Price of it is.

I HOPE you go on vigorouſly with your new Diſſertation, and that you will very ſuddenly oblige the World with it. I met by chance, this Week, with a Paſſage which I believe will convince your Friend CUPERUS, that the Word *Aureus*, in the old Writers, does not always ſignify ſomething made of Maſſy Gold. 'Tis in *Ovid. de Arte amandi*, Lib. 3. v. 231, 2.

Aurea quæ pendent ornato ſigna Theatro,
Inſpice quam tenuis bractea ligna tegat.

Where you ſee that the Statues which he ſtyles *Aurea* in the firſt Verſe, were nothing elſe but Wood cover'd over with Leaf-Gold, or at moſt with thin Plates of Gold. And I make no doubt but the *Roman* Eagles were juſt the ſame. I am, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER X.

SIR, 1713.

THE Subject of the Diſpute between you and CUPERUS, is, whether the Eagles were of Maſſy Gold or Silver, or only plated over. Tho' I have little to ſay of the Matter, yet, to keep my Word with you, I have ſent you the Arguments I cou'd think of on both ſides of the Queſtion.

LIPSIUS (*ad Tacit. Ann.* xi. *c.* 17. cites a Paſſage of FLORUS, (*Lib.* iv. *c.* 12.) *Tertiam* (*Aquilam*) *ſignifer evulſam, merſamque intra Baltei ſui latebras gerens— latuit.* From whence he, and Madam DACIER, very juſtly conclude, that if the Eagle cou'd be hid in a Soldier's Belt, it muſt be of a very ſmall ſize; and conſequently it might be of ſolid Gold or Silver, and yet be well enough born by the Standard-Bearer. This Reading appears in the printed Editions I have by me, and all the Manuſcripts agree in it, as you may

ſee in the Collection of the *Variæ Lectiones* at the end of the old and new *Elzevir* Editions. And one can hardly think FLORUS ſo wretchedly ignorant as to be miſtaken in ſo common a thing, which every School-Boy at *Rome* muſt be acquainted with.

'TIS true, FLORUS was a heedleſs and inaccurate Writer, and the Credit of his Teſtimony will be much leſſen'd by a notorious Miſtake he has committed the very Line before, *Duas Aquilas* adhuc *Barbari poſſident*, that is, under TRAJAN or ADRIAN; tho we are ſure from TACITUS (*Ann.* I. c. 60. *Ann.* II. c. 25.) that two of the three were recover'd under TIBERIUS, and the third under CLAUDIUS, as we are inform'd by DIO, (*Lib.* xl. p. 670.) LIPSIUS (*ad Tacit. Ann.* II. *c.* 25.) tries in vain to excuſe him by alledging, That he there ſpeaks in the Perſon of LIVY and not his own; by which LIPIUS muſt mean that he abridg'd LIVY; which is falſe, as appears by his contradicting him ſo often. But allowing it to be true in the main, how cou'd he abridge him in the

Re-

Relation of the Defeat of the *Roman* Army under VARUS, ſince 'tis plain from the Epitome of LIVY's laſt Book, that he brings his Hiſtory no lower than the Death of DRUSUS, *A. V. C.* 745? and VARUS with his Legions was deſtroy'd *A. V. C.* 762, near ſeventeen Years after.

ON the other ſide, I can't imagine how the Ends and Purpoſes of the military Enſigns could ever be anſwer'd by a Spread-Eagle, which on LIPSIUS's Suppoſition cou'd be no larger than a Black-Bird. Every body knows that the Enſigns were deſign'd to ſerve for dumb Signals to prevent Confuſion, by diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral Diviſions of the Army, and to guide the Soldiers, by the Eye, to their reſpective Poſts and Stations. From thence they were ſtyl'd *Signa*, as the Stars were by the Seamen for the ſame Reaſon, (*Iſidorus* iii. 70. xviii. 3.) And the Enſigns were commonly made of Silver, as the moſt glittering of all Metals, that they might be ſeen at the greater Diſtance; *Quoniam is* (*color*) *longius fulget*, ſays PLINY, *Lib.* xxxiii. *c.* 3. *p.* 37. *Ed. Harduin.* And if we con-

ſider that the Legions under the Emperors uſually conſiſted of ſix thouſand Men, and that they were drawn up in three Lines, with large Intervals betwixt each of them, 'tis hard to conceive how, in the Duſt and Confuſion of a Battle, ſo ſmall an Eagle could be ſeen by one half of the Legion.

BUT the Medals I have ſeen are all clearly on your ſide. 'Tis plain, if the Sculptors (who were great Maſters, and knew perfectly well the Rules of their Art) have obſerv'd a juſt Proportion in the Coins, between the Breadth of the Enſign-Staff, and the Largeneſs of the Eagles, that they were form'd in their full Proportion, and as large as the Life. And 'tis upon this Suppoſition, I preſume, that you have made your Calculations of the Weight of a Gold and Silver Eagle. Allowing this *Poſtulatum*, which cannot reaſonably be deny'd, your Arguments are unanſwerable. 'Tis impoſſible that ſo unwieldy a Standard cou'd be manag'd by the left Hand of a Soldier, as VEGETIUS affirms, (*Lib.* i. *c.* 20.) If 'twas born erect, the whole Weight muſt reſt on the Hand, which is abſurd and ridiculous.

lous. 'Tis true, on many Medals I have obſerv'd a little Spur or Crook about the middle of the Enſign-Staff, and I can gueſs no other uſe of it unleſs it were a Shoulder-Reſt for the Standard-Bearer; tho I have met with no Critick who has taken notice of it, but I can't think ſo obvious an Obſervation has eſcap'd them all. This will a little mend the matter; but after all, the Weight, even with this Reſt, would be inſupportable, and 'tis wanting in the far greater part of the Coins. If the Eagle was born in a reclining Poſture, as it ſometimes was, as appears from a Medal of *Spanheim* (*ad Julianum*, p. 209.) then, by the known Laws of the Ballance, the Weight muſt be vaſtly increas'd: nor is it poſſible that ſo raw a Youth as AUGUSTUS, at the Battle of *Mutina*, (*Suet. in Aug.* c. 10.) or ſo little a Man as CARACALLA cou'd have carry'd ſuch a monſtrous Load on their Shoulders, (*Herodian.* Lib. iv. c. 12.)

NOR was this all; for the Weight of the Eagles muſt be conſiderably increas'd by the Garniture and Ornaments of the Enſign-Staves. In the firſt place, ſome of the

the Eagles bore the Gold *Fulmen* in their Talons, as appears from DIO, (*Lib.* xliii. *p.* 231.) and in many of the Medals, (*Patin. ad Sueton. Neron.* c. 19.) and there is a very remarkable Medal in SPANHEIM, (*de uſu Num.* p. 163.) where the *Fulmen* is not in the Talons, but below the Perch of the Eagle, and is full as large as the Eagle it ſelf. And from thence, by the way, I believe the *Legio* XII*a*, with ſome others, took the Name of *Fulminatrix*; or elſe, which ſeems more probable, from the Device of the *Fulmen*, which that Legion, or at leaſt the principal Cohort, bore in their Shields. That this was the Device of ſome of them, we know from VALER. FLACCUS, *l.* vi. *v.* 55. and from an antient Monument preſerv'd by STEWECHIUS *ad Vegetium*, Lib. ii. c. 16.

TO this might be added the Shrine or Chappel, in which the Eagle was hous'd, as appears from DIO, (*Lib.* xl. *p.* 128.) and the Coin produc'd by STEWECHIUS (*ad Vegetium*, Lib. ii. c. 6.) and others mention'd by Mr. GREGORY, *p.* 52. But I will lay no ſtreſs on this Head, for I am of opinion with LIPSIUS, (*ad Cæſar.*

de

de Bell. Gall. c. 25.) and Sir H. SAVIL (*ad Tacit.* p. 213.) that the Eagle always ſtood open in the Field, and upon all publick Occaſions.

ANOTHER Article, which will add to the Weight of the Standards, is the *Pilae* or Globes, firſt added by AUGUSTUS, as ISIDORUS informs us, I know not how truly, (*Lib.* xviii. *c.* 3.) and which, as STEWECHIUS (*ad Vegetium*, Lib. ii. c. 6.) rightly obſerves, appear as well on the *Aquilae* as the *Vexilla*; and I my ſelf have obſerv'd them in many of the Coins. Theſe *Pilae* he likewiſe ſtyles *Circuli*, *Globuli*, *Clypei*; and rightly enough infers from *Vegetius*, that there was a particular ſet of Officers diſtinct from the Enſign-Bearers, properly ſo call'd, who carry'd nothing elſe but the Imperial Images; which I take, with PANCIROLLUS, to be the ſame with thoſe Images he has given us a Draught of in the *Notitia*, (p. 16, 17.) But 'tis plain enough that the *Aquilae*, and the other Enſigns had likewiſe the Emperor's *Effigies* upon them: tho STEWICHIUS ſeems to doubt of it. The

Vexilla

Vexilla had them, as appears from TACITUS (*Hiſt.* 1. *c.* 41.) and ſo had the *Labarum*, (*Euſeb. de vita Conſtantini*, Lib. i. c. 31.) And how came the Eagles, the moſt ſacred of all their Enſigns, the *Bellorum Dii*, and *Legionum Numina*, (*Tacitus Hiſt.* iii. *c.* 10. *Ann.* ii. *c.* 17.) to want them, eſpecially ſince 'tis plain that the Eagles on the Medals have theſe *Pilae*, or *Clypei*, which I take to be nothing elſe but Fields, like thoſe in our Coats of Arms, for the imperial Images? (vid. *Scalig. ad Euſeb. Chron.* p. 187.) The ſame may be inferr'd from *Herodian* (iv. 12.) στεφανιδων σύμβολα —— χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένα, which by POLITIAN's leave ſhou'd be thus tranſlated, *Legionum Signa*, i. e. *Aquilae, multis aureis Donariis ornata*: στεφανιδων σύμβολα is the ſame with the Ἀστοῖ στεφανιδων in DIO (*p.* 128, 231.) Ἀναθήματα is rightly render'd *Donaria* by CASAUBON (*ad Sueton. Aug.* c. 10.) that is, things conſecrated to a religious Uſe; which, as appears by the Word πολλοῖς, does not relate to the Eagle only; for which Reaſon I think it can be underſtood of nothing elſe but the Imperial Images, which were con-

conſecrated and worſhipp'd by the Soldiers. Thus in TERTULLIAN, (*ad Nationes*, Lib. i. c. 12. *Apol.* c. 16.) the *Imaginum Suggeſtus in Signis* (ſo it ſhou'd be read) or the *Clypei Signis gradatim adjuncti*, as SCALIGER explains it, (that is, the Rows of Images pil'd one a top of t'other) were fix'd on the Eagle-Staves, as RHENANUS truly obſerves; for TERTULLIAN plainly diſtinguiſhes theſe *Signa* from the *Cantabra* and *Vexilla*, which he takes notice of in the following Period: Which Expoſition is confirm'd by a parallel Paſſage in MIN. FELIX, (c. 29.) where by *Signa* the Eagles are plainly meant. The *Imaginum Suggeſtus* can never agree to the *Labarum*, as deſcrib'd by EUSEBIUS; much leſs to the *Imagines* of VEGETIUS, as they are drawn by PANCIROLLUS in the *Notitia:* from whence I conclude, it muſt belong to the Eagles, and conſequently make a large addition to their Weight, as HERODIAN clearly intimates, and the nature of the thing demonſtrates.

UPON the whole, I am of opinion that the Arguments are infinitely ſtronger on your

your ſide. The only difficulty that ſticks with me is the Paſſage of FLORUS, which I don't know how to correct or explain in a Senſe conſiſtent with your Hypotheſis. But perhaps 'tis clear'd up in the Editions of *Graevius* or *Wetſtenius*, which I have not by me. The antient Monuments, and above all TRAJAN's Pillar, are the beſt Guides in this Diſpute: and upon theſe, I preſume, your Arguments are chiefly founded; and I am in hopes you won't envy me the Pleaſure of ſeeing your excellent Remarks on this head, ſince purely in expectation of them I have ventur'd to give you my own crude and undigeſted Thoughts on a Subject which I never thought of before, and may therefore merit your Pardon for my Miſtakes. I am, Sir, *&c.*

RE-

REMARKS on the *Geta Britannicus* of Dr. MUSGRAVE.

N.B. *The References here made, relate to the Manuſcript ſent to Mr.* MOYLE, *and not to the Pages of the printed Book.*

AD. p. 1. YOU believe this Monument to have been ſet up in Honour of GETA, after his Arrival in *Britain*, (p. 11.) at which time by your own Reckoning (*p.* 21.) he had the Title of *Auguſtus*. Upon this Suppoſition, the Criticks perhaps will think it ſtrange that the Statue which you take to be GETA's ſhou'd have nothing in it to diſtinguiſh it from the Effigies of a private Man. 'Tis plain it has no Inſcription, Symbol or Device, to determine the Date or Perſon; and that the Diadem, Radii, Laurel Wreath, Purple Robe, with all the other Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity, are wanting.

2. THEY

2. THEY will perhaps object, that the *Haſta*, which you ſuppoſe to be *Haſta pura*, is nothing elſe but a Horſeman's Lance; that the only Difference between them is, the one was a Pike-Staff with a Spear at the end, the other with none. That 'tis probable from the Shortneſs of the Staff that the upper end is ſuppos'd to reach beyond the Stone, and that the other is hid by the Neck of the Horſe: ſo that neither End appearing in view, 'tis impoſſible to determine which of them it is. But allowing it to be a *Haſta pura*, which was ſometimes an Enſign of Authority and Command, as we are told by JUSTIN (xliii. 3.) and FESTUS (*in Celibori Haſta*) they may add, that this was an antiquated Cuſtom: And ſuppoſing it to have been ſtill in faſhion in SEVERUS's Reign, they may ask how you'll diſtinguiſh (ſince the Figures are both alike) between the *Haſta pura*, when it ſtands for a Scepter or Truncheon, and when it ſtands for a military Reward; which laſt was not only beſtow'd on Princes and great Officers, but ſometimes on common Soldiers, (*Tacit. Ann.*

Ann. iii. *c.* 21.) and even on the Dregs of Mankind, the *Liberti*, (*Suet. Claud. c.* 28.) And tho they ſhould agree with TAUBMAN, on the Authority of VARRO, in SERVIUS and POLYBIUS (6. 672. *Ed. Gronov.*) that the *Haſtæ puræ* were originally given to young Soldiers only, they may alledge, That this Cuſtom did not prevail at all times, and that they were ſometimes given, without diſtinction, to old Soldiers as well as young; as appears from the Example of SICCIUS DENTATUS, who at ſeveral times had obtain'd eighteen of them, as we know from *Dion. Halic.* x. *p.* 489. *Ed. Steph. Val. Max.* iii. 2. *A. Gell.* ii. 11. and *Plin.* vii. 28. And 'tis plain that a Man, who had been in eighteen ſeveral Actions, could not be call'd a *Tiro*. They may add, That AURELIUS, an old Soldier, that Day he was created Conſul, was preſented with ten of them by the Emperor VALERIAN, (*Vopiſc. in Aurelian.* c. 13.) Since I am upon this Subject, I will put you in mind of a Paſſage which has eſcap'd you in DIO CASSIUS, (*Lib.* lv. *p.* 556.) who ſays, that CAIUS and LUCIUS CÆSAR, when they took

the *Toga Virilis*, were preſented by the *Equeſtrian* Order with *Parmæ & Haſtæ aureæ*: But the *Mon. Ancyranum*, which is the better Authority, ſays, *Argenteis Haſtis*, which is probably all one with the *Haſtæ puræ*. And 'tis not unlikely, if this Statue be GETA's, that it was ſet up in Memory of the ſame Compliment paid him by the ſame Order, as *Princeps Juventutis*.

3. IT may be objected againſt your Hypotheſis, that your Argument from the Similitude of Faces is very uncertain; and that GETA's Coins have little Reſemblance one with another. I have by me a Book*, whoſe Author I do not know, (for the Title-Page is torn out) but at the Head of the firſt Page 'tis intitl'd, *De Vitis Imperatorum, ſeu Cæſarum & eorum Iconibus & Numiſmatibus*, beginning with JULIUS CÆSAR, and ending with the Emperor CHARLES V. In this Book, (*p.* 98.) is a Coin of GETA's, with this Inſcription, *Antoninus Pius Geta Cæſar*. He has a large Laurel Wreath round his Head, which does not agree with your

* Strada Mantuan.

Ob-

Obſervation, (*p.* 16.) and an elderly Face with a large Beard, as in CAMDEN's Coins. Tho, to own the Truth, I do as much queſtion the Genuineneſs of this Medal, as you do of Mr. CAMDEN's, and for the ſame Reaſon.

4. THE Criticks may likewiſe object, that this Statue was dug up at a good Diſtance from *Bath*, in the High-way, near JULIUS VITALIS's Grave, which had probably been a publick Burying-place, and was a very improper Seat for the Emperor's Statues, which were always erected in the moſt conſpicuous Place of the City. They may add, That this Stone is nothing elſe but the Monument of a Soldier who lies bury'd there, and that the *Haſta pura* was engraven on it in Memory of ſome gallant Action, for which he had obtain'd that Reward. This is certain, that the military Honours and Rewards of the Soldiers are often inſcrib'd on their Tombs, (*Stewechius ad Veget.* ii. 7. p. 103.) of which there are Examples enough in GRUTER's military Index. I ſhall produce only one of a Soldier, *Donatus ab Impp.*

Severo & Antonino Augg. Haſta pura, &c. (*Gruter.* 1101. 5.)

AD p. 4. *NUDUS Eques*, &c.] I believe your Obſervation is very juſt, and that GETA ought to be allow'd a Shirt, the Remains of which are perhaps worn out by Time. In the *Marm. Oxon*, (p. 267.) is a Draught of the ταυροκαθαψια, or *Bull-Feaſt*, as the *Spaniards* call it; where I thought at firſt ſight the Horſemen, who incounter the Bulls, had been all naked; but upon a narrow View I find they had Shirts on, which appear only at the Extremities, *viz.* the Collar, Wriſt, and middle of the Buttock.

AD p. 17. *A. U.* 951, &c.] THE Date of GETA's being declar'd *Cæſar*, is rightly fix'd to the *A. U.* 951. which, according to the common reckoning, is coincident not with the 199, but the 198 Year of the *Dionyſian* or vulgar *Æra* of Chriſt. ONUPHRIUS, whoſe Computation you follow, connects the firſt Year of the vulgar *Æra* of Chriſt with *A. U.* 753, BARONIUS with 752; but SCALIGER firſt diſ-

diſcover'd that it ought to be connected with *A. U.* 754; in which he is follow'd by his Antagoniſt PETAVIUS, and moſt others. PAGI, in his Remarks upon BARONIUS, (*ad Ann.* 1. *n.* 3.) ſays, The Chronologers to a Man are all now agreed in this Account, and that no body pretends to diſpute it, (vid. *Joinard ad Lactant. de Mortibus Perſecutor.* c. 4. p. 360, 1.) At *p.* 20. you have rightly plac'd the 208 of Chriſt; but by your former reckoning with *A.C.* 209. in other Places you ſometimes follow one Account, and ſometimes the other.

AD p. 18. *AD CONSTANTINUM uſq; omnes*, &c.] SPANHEIM, in his Notes upon JULIAN, (*p.* 278.) has obſerv'd, that the Chriſtian Emperors, as low as GORDIAN, took the Style of *Pontifices Maximi*. BARONIUS owns it, and GOTHOFRED and PAGI have in vain oppos'd it, PAGI *ad Baron. ad Ann.* 312. *n.* 15, &c.

AD p. 20. *Coſ.* ii. &c.] IN the Inſcription of this Coin, *Coſ.* ii. doth not ſignify that GETA was actually Conſul the

ſecond time that Year, but that he had been then twice Conſul; as will eaſily appear by other Examples of the ſame kind. M. ANTONINUS was Conſul the third time in the firſt Year of his Reign, and never afterward; and yet there are Medals without number ſtruck in every ſubſequent Year of his Reign, with the ſame Style of *Coſ.* iii. His Collegue, L. VERUS, was Conſul the ſecond time in the firſt Year of his Reign; and yet his Coins in the following Years give him the Style of *Coſ.* ii. And ſince the Genuineneſs of theſe Medals is not queſtion'd, it will follow of courſe that they all ought to be underſtood in the ſame Senſe as I have explain'd this Coin of GETA. This Obſervation may be confirm'd by the Medals of ANTONINUS PIUS, which give him the Title of *Coſ.* iv. many Years after his fourth Conſulſhip.

AD p. 20. *MIRARI ſubit doctum Caſaubonum*, &c.] CASAUBON, with all his great Learning, had little Skill in Chronology: But 'tis ſtrange that SCALIGER (*ad Euſeb. Chronic.* p. 228.) who knew

knew that and every thing elſe in Perfection, ſhould fix the Date of GETA's being created *Auguſtus* to the 12th of SEVERUS, *A. C.* 204. (when there are ſo many Arguments to the contrary) upon the miſtaken Authority of one Medal, with this Inſcription, *Geta — Aug -- Sæcularia Sacra*; from whence he infers, becauſe the ſecular Games were celebrated *A. C.* 204, that GETA was then *Auguſtus*. PAGI, in his Remarks upon BARONIUS, *Ann.* 208. *N.* 3. has examin'd and fully confuted this Opinion.

AD p. 27. *GETA adhuc Cæſar*, &c.] PAGI *ad Ann.* 212. *N.* 2. ſays, that GETA was made *Auguſtus*, before SEVERUS left *Rome*.

AD p. 38. *STATUAS ejus dejici.*] This is confirm'd by MONTFAUCON *p.* 217. *Engliſh* Tranſlation.

Ibid. *FORTASSE unica*, &c.] *Quer.* If GETA's Statue is not in the *Florentine* Gallery; where MONTFAUCON (*p.* 407.) ſays, there is almoſt a complete Series of the Emperors Statues.

IN the Beginning I have urg'd all the Arguments I cou'd think of, to prove this Statue not to be GETA's. I am very ſenſible they are not all of equal Force with the firſt and the laſt, and that ſome Objections in the ſecond Article may appear trifling and impertinent: But I reſolv'd to do as you bid me, and to ſet down every thing that had the face of an Objection, tho ever ſo trivial. I won't pretend to interpoſe my own Judgment in the matter, but ſubmit it intirely to yours.

AD p. 19. *EORUM unus tantum*, &c.] I think your firſt Opinion to be the true one, and that you ought not to retract it for the ſake of one ſingle Propoſition, againſt the concurrent Teſtimony of the Medals of CARACALLA, and DIO, (*Lib.* 53. *p.* 508. *Ed. Leunclav.*) who flouriſh'd in that Reign. PAGI, in his Remarks upon BARONIUS's Annals (*ad Ann.* 161. *p.* 6.) is of your firſt Opinion, and has two great Seconds, SPANHEIM and NORIS.

IN

IN the *Chronologia Sever. Domus*, you place the Birth of GETA *A. C.* 190, and his Death *A. C.* 211; and yet make him live twenty two Years and nine Months: So that there is of neceſſity a Miſtake of near two Years in your Reckoning. You have likewiſe, in my opinion, plac'd the firſt Conſulſhip of SEVERUS ſome Years too early. I cou'd make ſome other Objections, but for thoſe I will refer you to PAGI's Remarks on BARONIUS; who, above all the Writers now extant, beſt deſerves to be read on this Subject, and all others which he treats of as a Chronologer. I will ſend you back the two Diſſertations by Monday's Carrier, directed as formerly. I am with the greateſt Reſpect, Sir, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER XI.

SIR, *Aug.* 10. 1714.

HARVEST, and the Hurry and Diſtraction we have all been in ſince the News of the Queen's Death, have prevented me from anſwering your Letter ſooner. I am very well ſatisfy'd with what you have ſaid in your Defence; and inſtead of raiſing new Objections againſt your Hypotheſis, will ſend you ſome Arguments againſt my own.

YOUR Suppoſition, that GETA's Statue might be privately conceal'd by ſome of his Friends, is render'd very probable by ſome parallel Caſes, to be met with in the *Roman* Hiſtory. There is one Inſtance, under the Commonwealth, of SATURNINUS's Statues being preſerv'd, tho condemn'd for High-Treaſon againſt the State, (*Cic. pro Rabir.* c. 9.) So CASSIUS's Images ſtill remain'd in the Houſes of his Deſcendants, (*Sueton. Ner.* c. 37. *Tacit. Ann.* xvi. *c.* 71.) And we have an Example

Example of the ſame kind in SILIUS (*Tacit. Ann.* xi. *c.* 35.) And what is more ſtrange, the Statue of BRUTUS ſtood openly at *Milan* under AUGUSTUS, (*Plutarch. in Bruto, p.* 1849. *Sueton. Rhetor.* c. 6.

THESE Examples are ſufficient to ſatisfy the Criticks. But if any one ſhould be ſo unreaſonable as to diſpute it, you have ſtill another String to your Bow: For there are not wanting Examples of Statues of great Perſons; which, after they had been defac'd, were reſtor'd by their Friends, and ſometimes by their Enemies. Of which laſt we have an Inſtance in JULIUS CÆSAR's reſtoring the Statues of POMPEY and SYLLA, (*Sueton. in Cæſ.* c. 75. *Plutarch. de utilitate ex inimicis capienda*, p. 157.) NERO's Statues were reſtor'd by the Permiſſion of OTHO, (*Sueton. Otho*, c. 7.) Many other Examples may be met with in the *Hiſtoria Auguſta*; tho for want of leiſure to ſearch, I can't lay my Hand upon them. And not only the Statues, but the Medals of former Emperors, which were either loſt

or

or become ſcarce, were frequently new-ſtamp'd, and reſtor'd by their Succeſſors: of which PATIN gives us ſome Inſtances, (*ad Sueton. Veſpaſ.* c. 25. *ad Sueton. Auguſt.* c. 121.) —I am, *&c.*

LETTER XII.

SIR, *March* 10. $17\frac{14}{15}$.

I AT length ſend you the *Corniſh* Inſcriptions, with Mr. LLOYD's ſhort Remarks upon them. The Gentleman who deſign'd them for me, was ſo buſily employ'd in the late Elections, that I cou'd never faſten on him till laſt Week; and ſince that time, I have been ſo plagu'd with a Rheum in my Eyes (which are not yet well) that I neither cou'd write or read without great trouble. All the *Latin* Inſcriptions are very exactly deſign'd; but there is a Miſtake or two in the *French* Inſcription, which I will correct at the end of the Letter. I ſhall now ſend you

a Copy of Mr. LLOYD's Notes on the Inſcriptions, which were ſent in a Letter to FRANCIS PAYNTER *Eſq*; at *Boskenna*, near *Penſans* in *Cornwal*, which bears date at *Falmouth*, *November* 30. 1700. That part of the Letter which relates to the Inſcriptions is in the following Words:

" I HERE trouble you with Copies " of a few Inſcriptions, the oldeſt that " have occur'd to us ſince we left you. " The firſt and ſecond Figures are the two " ſides of a Croſs by the Alms-Houſe at " *St. Blaſey*, the Inſcription whereof I " do not at all underſtand, but perhaps " you may meet with ſome one hereafter " who may interpret it. The third is " printed in CAMDEN's *Britannia*, but " erroneouſly as to the Form of the Cha- " racter, as will appear upon comparing " them. CAMDEN's reading of it, *viz.* " *Donjert rogavit pro anima*, is true " without doubt. And in Confirmation " of his Conjecture, that this Stone was " put up by DUNGERTH Prince of *Corn-* " *wal*, about the beginning of the ninth " Century, I can add, that the Letters

" are

" are exactly the ſame with thoſe on a " Monument I lately met with in *Den-* " *bighſhire*, put up by KONKEN King " of *Powis*, the very ſame time; and " the writing the Name DUNGERTH, " DONJERT, is exactly agreeable to the " Orthography of that time.

" THE fourth is the Tomb-Stone of " an antient *Britan*, whoſe Name was " KYNADHAV' AP ICHDINOW; but is " now a Foot-bridge at *Gulval*, and is " call'd the *Blue-Bridge*. This may be " about two hundred Years older.

" THE fifth, which lies in the High- " way near *Fowey*, and is commonly " call'd the *Long-Stone*, may poſſibly be " of twelve hundred Years ſtanding. The " Reading is, *Ciruſius hic jacit Cunomori* " *Filius*; for the fifth Letter in the ſe- " cond Line muſt needs be an M revers'd, " W being but lately introduc'd into any " Alphabet. This Man's Name, in *Bri-* " *tiſh*, was KIRYS AP KYNVOR; and I " do not much queſtion but *Polkirys* (a " Village

" Village within half a Mile of this Stone)
" receiv'd its Name from him."

Edw. Lhwyd.

IN another Letter of Mr. Lloyd's to Mr. Paynter, I find an Account of another *Corniſh* Antiquity, call'd *Dance Mein*, which I ſhall ſet down in his own Words.

" *DANCE Mein* ſeems to have been
" ſo call'd by the common People, on no
" other account than that they are plac'd
" in a Circular Order, and ſo make an
" *Area* for Dancing; for near *Lanyne* ſuch
" another Circle is call'd *Mein an Dawns*,
" which ſignifies the Dancing-Stones, or
" the Stones of the Dance. Two ſuch
" Circles in *Denbighſhire* are call'd *Kerig*
" ȝ *Drydion* (or *Druid*-Stones) and in
" ſome Places in the Highlands of *Scot-*
" *land* they are call'd Temples and Chap-
" pels; whence I conjecture they were
" Places of Sacrifice and other religious
" Rites in the Times of Paganiſm, ſeeing
" the *Druids* were our antient Heathen
" Prieſts.

" Prieſts. What farther Arguments I have " to offer for this Opinion, may be ſeen " in the laſt Edition of CAMDEN's *Bri-* " *tannia*, in the additional Notes on " *Pembrokeſhire* and *Denbighſhire*.

" *Q.* WHETHER the number of " Boroughs about theſe Stones be not a " farther Proof?"

THUS far Mr. LLOYD.

THIS Suppoſition of Mr. LLOYD, if right, (as I believe) will account for *Stonehenge*, &c.

IN the *Fowey* Inſcription, which I ſent you long ſince, I read it *Ceruſius——jacet*; but Mr. LLOYD read it *Ciruſius——jacit*. In the laſt Word indeed the Letter appears more like an *i* than *e*, but I choſe the laſt for the ſake of *Orthography*. In the former the Letter was dim, and I cou'd not exactly diſcern it: But I wou'd have you follow Mr. LLOYD's Reading, as being more converſant in theſe matters than I am. We both agree that the W muſt be

be an M, and for the ſame Reaſons. 'Tis true, I accounted for it another way; but Mr. LLOYD's Conjecture is better, *viz.* that 'tis an M revers'd, which is very happily confirm'd by the fourth Inſcription, where the Letter S is plainly revers'd; which is a Proof that Letters in thoſe Ages were ſometimes inverted by the Stone-Cutters.

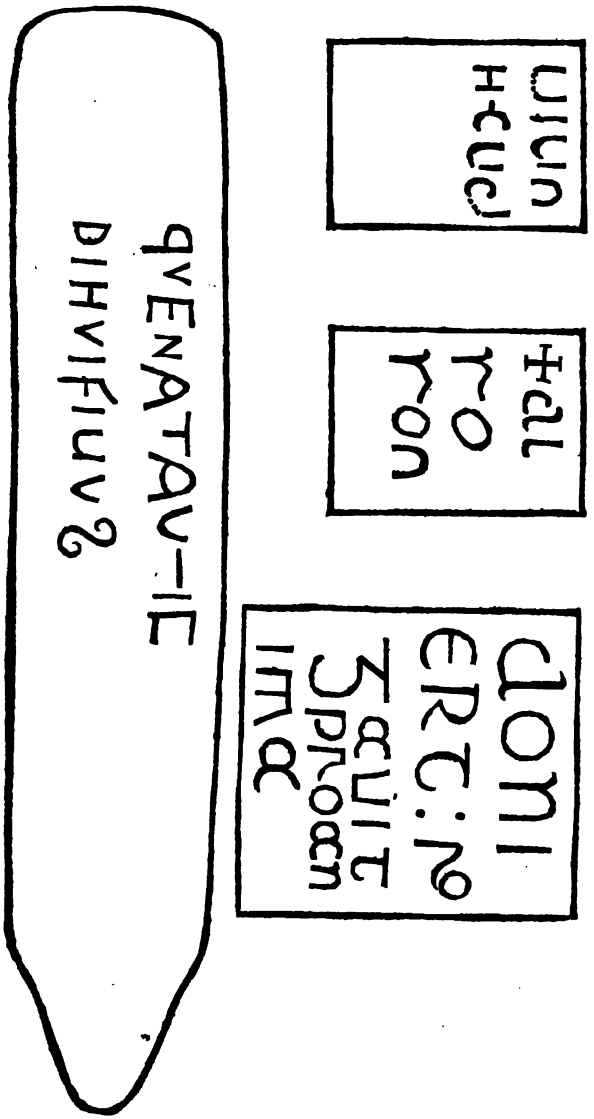
I SHALL now correct the two Miſtakes my Friend made in copying the St. *Burien* Inſcription. The firſt is in the third Word *Femme*, where the F ſhould have been thus deſign'd ꟒; the upper Croſs-Stroke of the F being worn out, as I ſuppoſe, Mr. LLOYD ſupply'd it by a prick'd Line. The other is in the eighth Word *Icy*, where the C ſhould be thus deſign'd, Ↄ.

I CAN make no gueſs concerning the Age of this Monument, but ſhould be glad to know your Opinion of it. I now ſend you likewiſe a Copy of a Letter from Mr. JOHN CONANT (Dr. CONANT I ſuppoſe) to Dr. PAYNTER of *Exeter-College*, concerning this Monument, with a long

Citation out of Dr. SAVAGE's *Balliofergus*, a Book I never ſaw nor heard of. Dr. SAVAGE has put the Inſcription into modern *French*; and, tho he has hit the Senſe well enough in the main, yet you will ſee that he is miſtaken in ſeveral Words.

I HAVE an Account of another *Latin* Inſcription in *Cornwal*, which Mr. LLOYD never ſaw. It lies fifty Miles from my Houſe; but I will write to Sir R. VIVIAN, in whoſe Pariſh it lies, to get it copy'd for me, and I will forthwith ſend it to you.

I am, *&c.*



A Copy of Dr. CONANT's Letter to Dr. PAYNTER, Rector of *Exeter-College.*

Good Sir, Kidlington, May 29. 1698.

IN Dr. SAVAGE's Balliofergus, p. 72. *I read,* " *There's one Marble Grave-*
" *Stone in the Church of St.* Burien, *near*
" *the Land's-End in* Cornwal; *which*
" *having a Croſs on it, the People take*
" *it to be ſome Dean's Grave-Stone, (for*
" *the Parſon is now call'd Dean of* Bu-
" rien, *and it had once Prebendaries too,*
" *as Mr.* CAMDEN *writes;) but that*
" *it's no ſuch matter, that which is en-*
" *graven in the Border thereof doth ſuf-*
" *ficiently teſtify. The true Reading*
" *thereof may be this:*

" Clarie la femme Geffrei
" De * Bolleit giſt icy

* " *Bolleit* is a Place in that Pariſh which I had occa-
" ſion to know, accompanying ſome Friends that have
" Eſtates in the Pariſh. Dr. SAVAGE."

" Dieu

" Dieu de l' ame ayez mercie
" Qui prient pour l'ame auront
" Dix Jours de Pardon en ce mond.

I SHOWING my Tranſcription to a Gentleman, a Roman *Catholick, and an Antiquary, ask'd him, Who promis'd thoſe ten Days of Pardon to whomſoever ſhou'd pray for her Soul? He anſwer'd, That it was a traditional thing, and* ad placitum Sculptoris, *who might have put an hundred Days as well as ten, if he had pleas'd.*

LOOKING into Mr. GIBSON's *Additions to* CAMDEN, *I find the Grave-Stone with the Croſs, and the very Words above, I verily think, round the Border thereof, in their antient Letters, and written with the uſual Contractions of thoſe times. I wonder he takes notice of no other legible Word but* Bolleit, *ſince the two next Words* git icy *are as plain, and many others. The Letters there printed are not ſo truly ſhap'd as in the Draft of that Grave-Stone which your Kinſman of* Penſance *was pleas'd to give me, when*

+ qyARI qq : LF
ARqPVRLqALMq:PVNZ:DILOR: DqPARDVN:AVq RV N D
IZ: M qR
F qMDq:qhqFRqI:Dq:BOLqqI:qBqhqI:qVq:qhqhMq:E

we were upon the Place. I remember we all cou'd read Bolleit, *and it may be ſome other Words, but could not go thro with it as Dr.* SAVAGE *hath done. That King* ATHELSTANE *repair'd and enlarg'd this Church (long before dedicated to that holy* Britiſh *Virgin St.* BURIENA) *about the Year 936, is collected out of* CAMDEN *and our antient Hiſtorians. In the Legends of the* Iriſh *Saints,* BEDE's Eccl. Hiſt. WARÆUS's Antiquitates Hibernicæ, *and other Books of the like nature, 'tis probable one might meet with this holy Virgin, were it worth the while to look after her. I wonder that in* DUGDALE's Monaſticon, *the College of Prebendaries of St.* BURIEN (*which* CAMDEN *ſaith was there in* WILLIAM *the Conqueror's Time*) *finds no mention: which College the Notes in the forementiond Edition of* CAMDEN *tell us, was thrown down by one* SHRUBSALL, *Governor of* Pendennis, *in* OLIVER's *Time. The Life of St.* LEVIN, *by* DROGO *Biſhop of* Terovanne, *I read of. Yours, &c.*

J. CONANT.

THE Marginal Note upon the Word *Bolleit*, belongs, I ſuppoſe, to Dr. SAVAGE; becauſe the Lines of it are all edg'd with this Mark " as the reſt of the Doctor's Relation is; otherwiſe I ſhou'd have thought it Dr. CONANT's, who, as appears by his Letter, had been at St. *Burien*. He mentions the Life of St. LEVIN at the cloſe of the Letter, I ſuppoſe, becauſe the Pariſh of St. *Levin*, or *Leven*, adjoining to St. *Burien*, took its Name from that Saint.

W. M.

LETTER XIII.

SIR, *June* 9. 1715.

INCLOS'D you have a Copy of another *Corniſh* Inſcription, and the only one, I believe, now extant in *Cornwal*, which you have not ſeen. I can ſay very little of it my ſelf, but ſend you the following Account from Sir RICHARD VI-

VIVIAN, who copy'd the Inſcription for me.

SIR,

" I CAN have no Account of the " Draught of Mr. LLOYD's Inſcription " on the Stone in this Pariſh, and there- " fore have gotten it to be taken out as " exact as I cou'd, which I have here in- " clos'd; and allowing Inches for Feet, " 'tis the true Proportion of the Stone, " which ſtands upright in the High-way, " where two Lanes meet, in the Pariſh " of *Mawgan*, in *Meneag*, not a quarter " of a Mile from the Pariſh-Church. " This Stone is generally call'd *Mawgan-* " *Croſs*; but by the beſt Information I can " get from the moſt antient Inhabitants, " as well as by obſerving the Stone it ſelf, " 'tis not probable there ever was a Croſs " upon it. The Characters are all exact " as they are on the Stone, but the ſe- " cond G in GNEGUMI is much de- " fac'd, and therefore I may be miſtaken " in that Letter. Before Mr. LLOYD " came into this Country, no body ever " obſerv'd any Inſcription to be on this " Stone;

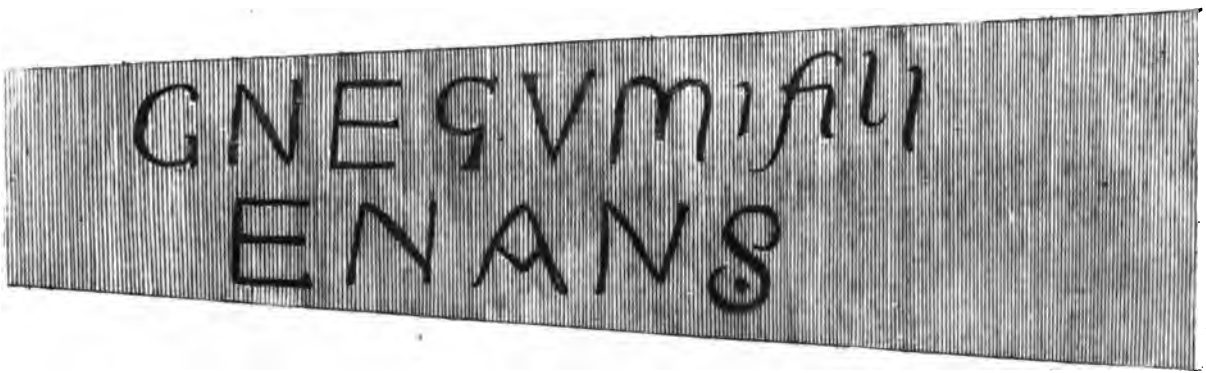
" Stone; ſo we have no Tradition con-
" cerning it. But Mr. LLOYD conjec-
" tur'd *Gnegumi* to be ſome *Britiſh*
" Prince, and that the twelve Pariſhes
" call'd *Meneag* might take that Name
" from him. ENANS, he ſaid, was ſtill
" a common Name in *Wales*. I am, *&c.*

Trelowarren,
May 5. 1715. RICH. VIVIAN.

BY this Account it appears, that Mr. LLOYD had ſeen this Inſcription, and taken a Draught of it, which he left with Sir R. VIVIAN, who has now either loſt or miſlaid it. The Characters are very fair, and conſequently very antient.

W. MOYLE.

LET-


GNEGVM fil
ENANS

LETTER XIV.

SIR, *October* 22. 1715.

I HAVE a thouſand Pardons to ask you for not ſooner anſwering your obliging Letter. But my whole Time and Thoughts have been ſo intirely taken up in the publick Service, that I had not a Moment's Leiſure for my Friends, not even for you the beſt of them. I give you my hearty Thanks for your Book, which did not come to my Hands till ſome Weeks after your Letter. I have read it with a great deal of Profit and Delight, and if I was ſo much pleas'd with the rough Draught, you may eaſily gueſs how I was charm'd with the laſt Finiſhings of ſo noble a Deſign. We are all very much oblig'd to you for devoting your Thoughts and Labours to the publick Service of the Republick of Letters; but I owe you peculiar Obligations. To the reſt of the World you only give Entertainment and Inſtruction,

tion, but you have given me Immortality a ſecond time*.

Chartis nomen victurum tuis, Latinis
dum manebit pretium literis.

I can make no critical Remarks on any part of the Work; for in my poor Judgment all is very right and juſt. Your *Saxon* † Monument was perfectly new to me, having not ſeen the Account of it which you publiſh'd in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society. 'Tis a valuable Piece of Antiquity, and explain'd with great Judgment and Learning.

AS for publick Concerns, I am alarm'd, as all good Men are, at this unnatural Rebellion, rais'd by a ſet of Men, whom no Oaths can bind, nor Principles reſtrain. A few Weeks muſt decide the Fate of us and our Poſterity. We have indeed all the favourable Preſages on our ſide that we can wiſh for. To ſay nothing of the

* Vid. Get. Brit. p. 21.

† De Icuncula Reg. ÆLFREDI.

odds

odds of our Cauſe, we have the Royal Name, the Parliament, the City, the Fleet, the Army, *&c.* for us at home, and well nigh all *Europe* in our Intereſt abroad. On the other ſide are the inferior Clergy and their Rabble, back'd by a great part of our looſe and diſſolute Gentry, who, by the help of a mean and monkiſh Education, have been bred ignorant of Arts and Arms, and taught nothing but to live in a blind Dependance on profligate Prieſts and Pedants. With theſe Advantages in our favour we enter the Liſts with our Adverſaries: To all which I will add another Article of the higheſt moment, The known Courage and Wiſdom of the King. So that in all appearance this Storm will ſoon blow over, and make way for a laſting Settlement.

WE are not only very quiet in all parts of our County, but, I think, ſecure from any Diſturbance. By this time I have tir'd you with this long Letter, and ſhall conclude with aſſuring you that I am, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER XV.

N. B. *The References here are made to the Pages of the printed Book.*

SIR, *Feb.* 21. $17\frac{18}{19}$.

I HAVE the favour of your Letter; and your Book*, which I long waited for, is at laſt come to hand. I have read it over with a world of Pleaſure, and dare venture to pronounce it every way worthy of the great Reputation of the Author. Not only your own Country, but all the Commonwealth of Letters are oblig'd to your learned Labours on this Subject, by which you have preſerv'd from Oblivion ſo many valuable Monuments of Antiquity. I give you a thouſand Thanks for this Preſent, which came in a very lucky Seaſon; for I am now laid up in a Fit of the Gout, and it has very agreeably en-

* Belgium Britannicum,

tertain'd

tertain'd me in my Confinement. I have heard of a King of *Spain* who was cur'd of a lingring Fit of Sickneſs, the Spleen I ſuppoſe, by no other Phyſick than reading over Q. CURTIUS: But the Gout (as you know better than any Man alive) is a ſurly Diſeaſe, deaf to all the Charms of Eloquence and Learning, and may be play'd with and amus'd for a while, but won't be maſter'd. However it deals pretty gently with me, my Pains being not very acute and violent: but Confinement to a Man who loves Walking and Riding, is a great Puniſhment. You will allow me, I hope, to give my ſelf the Freedom I have always taken with you, of adding ſome Remarks on your Book; which ſhou'd have been more particular and correct if I cou'd have writ them in my Study: But I am forc'd, in a great meaſure, to truſt to my Memory only, which may, perhaps, deceive me; and I beg you to receive them with that Allowance.

P. 6. YOUR Explication of TACITUS, in this Page, I take to be very juſt: but the Words, *à tergo*, are wanting in all my Editions of that Author, as RYCKIUS, old ELZEVIR, PICHON, *&c.*

P. 19. *COMBE* for a *Vale* or *Bottom*, is a common Word in *Cornwal*, and of more frequent uſe than *Vale* or *Valley*. But it does not ſignify with us a flat, wide Plain, like the Vale of *Taunton*, or *Bridgwater*, but a narrow Vale, enclos'd between two Hills. There is a Houſe in my Neighbourhood call'd by that Name, without any Addition.

P. 36, 37. TO this Day, in *Cornwal*, we call a Grove near a Dwelling-Houſe, a Town of Trees. Mine has been call'd ſo ever ſince my Remembrance; and the Place where it grows, the Town-Place or Town. This looks like the Remains of the old *Britiſh* Cuſtom mention'd by CÆSAR, and STRABO.

P. 65, 222. I CAN'T agree with CHIFLETIUS in bringing down SOLINUS ſo low as the Reign of THEODOSIUS the Great. His Ignorance, and ill Method, which he conſiders as Characters of a later Age than that of CONSTANTINE, are very indifferent Arguments to prove his Point; for moſt of the Authors of the *Hiſtoria Auguſta* are full as bad Writers as SOLINUS, in all reſpects, and yet 'tis well known they all flouriſh'd about the Age of DIOCLESIAN and CONSTANTINE. And his other Argument, from an old Manuſcript of SOLINUS, that was writ in the time of THEODOSIUS, will not prove that SOLINUS liv'd in that Age. By the ſame Rule one might argue that TERENCE was no elder than CALLIOPIUS. I am of SALMASIUS's mind, that he wrote before the Tranſlation of the Imperial Seat to *Conſtantinople*, becauſe he has made mention of *Byzantium*, and even given us the old Name of it, without ſaying a word of its new Name, or its being the Capital of the Empire at that time; which was too remarkable an Event to be paſs'd over

over in Silence. The reſt of his Arguments are all very good, except one, which turns on the Age of PRISCIAN, in which that great Man was plainly miſtaken.

P. 63. I FANCY the old *Dunmonian* Gentleman you mention in this Place, was old Mr. DUKE of *Otterton*.

P. 171. IN the Paſſage of CÆSAR which you have cited, three of my Editions of that Author, *viz.* the old ELZEVIR, the *Variorum*, and Dr. DAVIS, read as you do, *Taleis ferreis*; tho the laſt in his Notes, with LIPSIUS, judges *Annulis ferreis* to be the true Reading: and Dr. CLARK, in his noble Edition of CÆSAR, has admitted it into the Text, upon the Authority of three Manuſcripts and the *Greek* Tranſlation. I believe it to be the true Reading, and am confirm'd in that opinion by a Diſcovery made ſome Years ago, in the *Weſt* of *Cornwal*; where, on digging the Ground, a vaſt quantity of Iron-Rings were found, which, I am perſuaded, were ſome old *Britiſh* Money that had been bury'd there. I procur'd one for

my Lord PEMBROKE when he was in this County; and, if any of them are left, I'll try to get ſome of them for you.

P. 171. IN the ſame Place you mention Dr. WOODWARD's *Parma Equeſtris*, and Mr. DODWELL's Diſſertation upon it; which laſt I never ſaw or heard of till I met with it in your Book. I never had a ſight of the original Print of the Shield, publiſh'd at *London*, but I have two Copies of it, one publiſh'd by DRAKENBERGIUS, in his *Silius Italicus*, and the other in Dr. CLARK's *Cæſar*. The firſt ſeems to mention it with an air of Diſtruſt, and I am inclin'd to think it no Antique for the following Reaſon:

'TIS plain the Deſign of the Sculptor was to give a view of *Rome*, as it lay in Ruins, after it had been ſack'd, and burnt by the *Gauls*; and among other Monuments, there appears the Figure of a Stone-Theatre, or rather Amphitheatre, (becauſe, including the Ruins, it ſeems to be more than a Semi-circle:) But, be it one or the other, my Argument is equally concluſive; for

for 'tis plain there was no fix'd permanent Theatre or Amphitheatre at *Rome* for ſome Ages after its being taken by the *Gauls:* And from this notorious Miſtake, and Incongruity, which never appears in the genuine Remains of Antiquity, I ſuppoſe the Shield to be a modern Invention.

'TIS manifeſt there cou'd be no Theatre, of any kind, then at *Rome*; becauſe the *Ludi Scenici* (for the acting of which they were firſt inſtituted) were unknown to the *Romans*, till ſome Years after; as appears from LIV. vii. And even then their Plays or Farces were acted in Theatres made of Scaffolds only (as we know from VAL. MAXIMUS, LIVY, and TACITUS) which laſted no longer than the preſent Occaſion, and then were taken down. An Attempt was made ſome time before the third *Punick* War, to build a ſtanding Theatre: but a ſtop was ſoon put to the Work by the Authority of SCIPIO NASICA. *vid. V. Maximum, Velleium, Appionem, Tertullianum de Spectaculis, & Livii Epit.* And we have the poſitive Authority of TACITUS, (*Ann.* xiv. 20.)

that the firſt *manſura Theatri ſedes*, was built by POMPEY, a few Years before the Civil War broke out between him and CÆSAR.

AS for Amphitheatres, they were ſtill of a later Date. They were firſt inſtituted for the Shows of the Gladiators, and the wild Beaſts. Now we are certain from *V. Maximus* and *Liv. Epit.* that there were no *Munera Gladiatoria* till the beginning of the firſt *Punick* War, above a hundred and twenty Years after the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*; and then the Gladiators fought in the *Forum*. As for Shows of wild Beaſts, I remember no inſtance of any before the Year of the City 568, not long before the War with PERSEUS, (*Liv.* XXXIX. 22.) And 'tis very probable that theſe wild Beaſts were expos'd in the *Circus*, (vid. *Liv.* xliv. 18.) as we are certain they were in POMPEY's Time, from ſeveral Paſſages in PLINY, *Lib.* viii. The ſame Author (*Lib.* XXXVI.) mentions an Amphitheatre built by CURIO, about the ſame time; but 'tis plain that was only a temporary one. POLYDORE

VIRGIL

VIRGIL pretends that JULIUS CÆSAR built the firſt ſtanding Amphitheatre; but the Word ἰκρινόσας in DIO ſeems plainly to imply that 'twas all Scaffold-Work, and rais'd only for a preſent Occaſion. The ſame Author, DIO CASSIUS, makes mention of a Stone-Amphitheatre, built by STATILIUS TAURUS; which, I believe, was the firſt of that kind, and erected in the Reign of AUGUSTUS: But for this I refer you to LIPSIUS *de Amphitheatro*, which I have not by me. No doubt but he has handled this Argument with his uſual Learning and Exactneſs. From what I have ſaid, it plainly appears that the *Romans* had no *manſura Theatra*, or *Amphitheatra*, till ſome hundreds of Years after *Rome* was ſack'd by the *Gauls*. *Q. E. D.* I am, &c.

P. S. Paterſa, a Word you have twice us'd for the *Pox*, has very much puzzled me, and I am at a loſs whether it is a new or old Word.

SINCE the Writing of this Letter, I have borrow'd LIPSIUS *de Amphitheatro*, of a Gentleman in my Neigh-

bourhood. His Account of the Riſe and Original of Amphitheatres agrees exactly with mine; tho, I aſſure you, I never ſaw the Book till this Morning, nor ever met with a Citation of it which relates to this Article. I am pleas'd to ſee my Opinion confirm'd by the Authority of ſo great a Man.

LETTER XVI.

SIR, *March* 8. 17$\frac{1}{11}$.

I TAKE it for granted, that ſo curious and inquiſitive a Man as you are muſt have read over Mr. HAYMS's *Teſoro Britannico*, which is a Collection of very rare and valuable Coins; and I did not think that all *England* cou'd have produc'd ſuch a Set. There is a very remarkable one, (*Vol.* 1. *p.* 52.) of King ANTIOCHUS, dated *A. Seleucid.* 162; in which year DEMETRIUS SOTER was kill'd, and ALEXANDER BALAS ſucceeded him. But how ſhall we reconcile this Medal to the Hiſtorians

rians of thoſe Ages, who mention no ANTIOCHUS King of *Syria* in that Year? Mr. HAYMS's Explication of the Medal contradicts all the Writers of thoſe Times; ſo I ſhall ſay no more of it, but propoſe another of my own.

§. II. *ALEXANDER*, to whom I ſuppoſe this Medal to belong, had two Names, *viz.* ALEXANDER and ANTIOCHUS, as appears from JOSEPHUS (*de B. Judaico*, i. 2.) where 'tis ſaid of JONATHAN, πρὸς τὸν Αντιόχου παῖδα διαλλαγὰς ἐποιήσατο, &c. This is the conſtant Reading, not only of all the old Editions and Manuſcripts now extant (as Dr. HUDSON owns) but of the old Manuſcripts which RUFINUS made uſe of 1300 Years ago, as appears from his Verſion. 'Tis plain from the following Periods, that the Son of ANTIOCHUS can be no other than ANTIOCHUS, the Son of ALEXANDER BALAS; whom JOSEPHUS, in this Paſſage, calls ANTIOCHUS, but in his Antiquities always ALEXANDER. Nor is it unuſual for him to omit the Name of the King, and to deſcribe him only by his Father's Name.

Name. There are Inſtances to this purpoſe, (*p.* 281, 2, 5. *Ed. Hudſon.*) where he deſcribes ISHBOSHETH in the ſame manner, by his Father's Name only, Σαοὺλ παῖς. So the Author of II *Maccab.* (ix. 29.) ſtyles ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR the Son of ANTIOCHUS, without mentioning his own Name. 'Tis a way of ſpeaking familiar to the *Jewiſh* Writers, and there are Examples enough of this kind to be found in the Old Teſtament.

§. III. THE next Author who calls ALEXANDER, ANTIOCHUS, is MALELA in his *Chron.* (*p.* 265.) That the ANTIOCHUS there nam'd is the ſame with ALEXANDER BALAS, is apparent not only from his making him the Succeſſor of DEMETRIUS (*Demetrianus*) the Son of SELEUCUS, but from his placing one Year of his Reign 152 Years after the Foundation of *Antioch*; that is, in the 164th Year of SELEUCUS; for *Antioch* was founded in the 12th Year of that *Æra*, as we know from *Euſeb. Chron.* ALEXANDER's Reign began *A. Seleucid.* 162, and ended 167. He reign'd indeed five Years

Years only, whereas MALELA has given him nine. But the Miſtake of EUSEBIUS and PORPHYRY, in the Years of that Prince's Reign, is much greater: and it may be obſerv'd in excuſe of MALELA, that SULPICIUS SEVERUS affirms that moſt Writers allow'd him nine Years. For the other Miſtakes in this Paragraph, let himſelf or his Copiers anſwer. Nor is it ſo very ſingular or extraordinary for the *Syrian* Kings to have more Names than one beſide their Sirnames. We are told by SYNCELLUS, in SCALIGER's *Græca Euſebiana*, (*p.* 68.) that SELEUCUS CALLINICUS was likewiſe call'd ANTIOCHUS: and there are more Examples of the ſame kind to be found (*p.* 65, 71.) But ſince in thoſe laſt Places SCALIGER has not thought fit to name the Authors from whence he borrow'd thoſe Fragments, one does not know what Credit they deſerve. Thus, Sir, I have ſent you my Thoughts upon this Subject. I am ſenſible that my Hypotheſis lies open to ſeveral weighty Objections. I freely own that MALELA is an Author of little Credit, and that Dr. ALDRICHE's Correction of the Paſſage

of

of JOSEPHUS which I have produc'd (and which Dr. HUDSON has admitted into the Text) is very plauſible and probable. In a word, I am far from being entirely ſatisfy'd with this Solution, and I propoſe it with no other view but to ingage you, in return, to ſend me a better; which I hope you'll favour me with.

§. IV. THERE is in the ſame Volume, (*p.* 148.) another very fine Coin, not figur'd, but deſcrib'd by Mr. MASSON; which is the more remarkable, becauſe he pretends by the help of it to fix the Conſulſhip of ATILIUS and MANLIUS in JUSTIN to the 498th Year of *Rome*, and to deduce the *Parthian Æra* from that Year. Whereas SCALIGER, PETAVIUS, USHER, NORIS, SPANHEIM, PRIDEAUX, Biſhop LLOYD, and almoſt all the firſt rate Chronologers are agreed that thoſe Conſuls belong to the 504th Year of *Rome*; which Opinion, for many Reaſons, is much the more probable. But at preſent I ſhall not enter into that Inquiry, but content my ſelf to ſhow that this Medal does not prove the contrary. This Argument muſt turn

upon this Suppoſition, that the 465th Year of the *Parthian Æra*, if we begin the reckoning from *A. V. C. Varr.* 504, will not fall under the Reign of VOLOGESUS the Third; but after his Death, under the Reign of ARTABANUS his Succeſſor. But in order to demonſtrate an Epocha of ſuch Importance to Chronology, Mr. MASSON ought to have ſettled upon good Proofs, and with all the Exactneſs ſo nice a point requir'd, the preciſe Time of the *Julian* Year, when the *Parthian Æra* began, and when VOLOGESUS dy'd: For ſince on the Strength of this Medal, he has taken upon him to attack a receiv'd Opinion, and ſet up a new *Æra* of his own, he ought to have guarded againſt all poſſible Objections, and to have left no room, on my Suppoſition, for placing any part of the Reign of VOLOGESUS under the 465th Year of the *Parthian Æra*. As to the firſt Article, it appears by his Calculation, that he places the beginning of the *Parthian Æra* in the very end of the Year 498 of *Rome*: for if he had ſet it earlier, the 465th *Parthian* Year muſt have begun in the Year of Chriſt 209, and concurr'd

concurr'd partly with that Year, and partly with the next, whereas he ſeems to make it concur throughout with the Year 210. But for this he has no manner of Proof; and I might as well beg the Queſtion, and ſet the firſt Riſe of the *Parthian Epocha* in the beginning of the *Julian* Year. In the next place, one wou'd expect that he had fix'd the time of VOLOGESUS's Death with the utmoſt Accuracy. But we are only told that he dy'd toward the latter end of CARACALLA, about the Year of Chriſt 215. This is too looſe and general a Calculation to build an Hypotheſis upon; eſpecially when the Point in diſpute cannot poſſibly be determin'd, unleſs not only the Year of VOLOGESUS's Death, but the time of the Year be exactly ſettled. 'Tis certain from DIO, that VOLOGESUS was dead when CARACALLA attack'd the *Parthians*, which, we are ſure from the Coins, was in the Year of *Chriſt* 216, and of *Rome* 969. We know from DIO, that VOLOGESUS was alive when CARACALLA ſent his Embaſſy to demand TIRIDATES and ANTIOCHUS; and at the return of that Embaſſy, which CAL-

CALVISIUS places in the 216th Year of *Chriſt*: but 'tis moſt likely that 'twas about the latter end of the Year 215; ſo that the Death of VOLOGESUS muſt be plac'd in that Interval. And by all I can collect from DIO, both in XIPHILINE and the *Excerp. Valeſ.* CARACALLA, after the Maſſacre of the *Alexandrians*, upon the News of VOLOGESUS's Death, took advantage of the Diſputes about the Succeſſion to invade the *Parthian* Empire, about the Spring or Summer of the Year 216 of *Chriſt*, and of *Rome* 969: and conſequently the Death of VOLOGESUS muſt be plac'd ſome time in the beginning of the Year. Upon this Suppoſition (for which I have the utmoſt probability) this Coin might be ſtruck in the Reign of VOLOGESUS; and yet the *Parthian Epocha* might begin *A. U. C.* 504. I might place the Riſe of the *Parthian Æra* in the beginning of the *Julian* Year, upon as good Grounds as he has plac'd it in the end: But to ſhew him all imaginable fair play, ſince the thing is uncertain, I will take a middle Courſe, and ſet it only in the midſt of the Year of *Rome* 504,

and

and then the 465th *Parthian* Year will begin in the middle of the Year of *Chriſt* 215, and of *Rome* 968, above half a Year before the Death of VOLOGESUS; in which Interval the Medal might be coin'd. Nay, ſhou'd we ſuppoſe, (as I fancy Mr. MASSON believes, tho without ground) that the Month *Dius* in the Medal, which anſwers in the old *Macedonian* Year to the *Julian September* and *October*, was ſet down to mark the time when the Medal was ſtruck, there are ſtill three or four Months before VOLOGESUS's Death for the Coin to be ſtruck in: So that this Medal will not prove the Point Mr. MASSON contends for.

§ V. I AGREE with him that this Medal proves that the *Parthian Æra* cou'd not begin in the Year of *Rome* 506, in which EUSEBIUS places the Revolt of ARSACES; nor in the 510th Year of *Rome*, in which JUSTIN, according to my Calculation, has ſet the Rebellion of the *Parthians*. Much leſs will this Coin allow us to place the Date of the *Parthian Æra* ſome Years lower, I mean as low as the Defeat

Defeat of SELEUCUS CALLINICUS by ARSACES: *Quem diem* (ſays JUSTIN) *Parthi exinde ſolennem, velut initium libertatis obſervant.* Which Words ſeem plainly to imply that the *Parthians* themſelves began their political *Æra* from that Year; for there is very good Reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Date of their Liberty and their *Epocha* was the ſame; as moſt other States that had any *Æra* of their own took it from the Date of their *Autonomia*, of which there are Examples enough in NORIS *de Epoch. Syromaced.* Mr. MASSON'ſ Medal manifeſtly contradicts this *Æra*; and for that Reaſon, as well as ſeveral others, I am inclin'd to ſuſpect that the *Æra*, which appears on the *Parthian* Medals, is not the National *Æra* of *Parthia*, but the particular *Æra* of thoſe *Greek* Cities in which the Coins were ſtruck; that is, the *Æra Seleucidarum.* I am far from being of the opinion of F. HARDUIN in his *Chronol. V. Teſt.* (p. 576.) that the *Parthians* follow'd the *Æra Seleucid.* For tho the petty Princes of *Judea*, as perhaps ſome others, ſtuck to the *Syrian Æra*, after they had ſhook off

their Yoke, yet it wou'd very ill ſuit with the Pride and Grandeur of the *Arſacidæ* to uſe the *Æra* of any Empire but their own.

§ VI. MY firſt Argument to prove thoſe Medals to have been ſtruck in the *Greek* Cities of upper *Aſia*, is taken from their Inſcriptions being in *Greek*, which was never the Language of *Parthia*. Thoſe Medals, and no other, I take to be *Parthian* Medals properly ſo call'd; that is, coin'd by the publick Authority of the Government, which are inſcrib'd with *Parthian* Characters; of which Mr. HYAM has produc'd two (*Vol.* II. *p.* 36.) and HARDUIN has mention'd ſome more, in his *Chronol. V. Teſt.* (p. 608.) The reſt, I take it for granted, were all coin'd in the *Macedonian* Colonies that lay in the *Parthian* Provinces. NORIS (*de Epoch. Syromaced.* p. 11.) ſeems to favour this Opinion; and, in ſome meaſure, SPANHEIM, (*de uſu Num.* p. 46, 7.) The Title of ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ, which appears in many of the *Parthian* Coins, and particularly in ſome of VOLOGESUS, is another Proof of this Opinion.

Opinion. I don't ſuppoſe this to be a ſtanding Title of VOLOGESUS, which he aſſum'd in his imperial Edicts, Letters, and other Acts of State; for then, in all probability, we ſhould have met with it in all his Coins, whereas it is wanting in Mr. MASSON's, which is the lateſt of them all. For this Reaſon I conclude that this Title was given him by ſome of the *Greek* Cities, which he had diſtinguiſh'd by particular marks of Affection and Favour; and conſequently the Medals were coin'd by them. I am apt to think that if Mr. MASSON had carefully conſider'd what SPANHEIM (*ibid.*) had ſaid upon this Subject, he wou'd hardly have ask'd how VOLOGESUS, or any of the *Arſacidæ* cou'd have that Title under the *Roman* Emperors, after the Deſtruction of the *Macedonian* Empire: for this Title manifeſtly relates to the *Macedonian* Colonies that were planted within the *Parthian* Pale, and were for the moſt part ſubject to their Dominion, and ſtill retain'd the Name as well as the Language and Cuſtoms of the *Greeks*, (Vid. *Noris* & *Spanheim*, ibid.)

§ VII. THE *Macedonian* Months which are nam'd in ſome of theſe Medals, as *Dius* in Mr. MASSON's, and *Gorpiæus* in C. NORIS, (*p.* 10.) are another Argument of their being coin'd in the *Greek* Cities, which ſtill follow'd the old *Macedonian* Year. NORIS indeed, at firſt ſeems to infer from this Coin, that the *Parthians* us'd the *Macedonian* Year: but he afterwards conjectures that 'twas coin'd (*not* by the *Parthians*, but) at *Seleucia*, where he ſuppoſes the old Form of the *Macedonian* Year was ſtill retain'd. This *looks* like retracting his former Opinion; for which I can't find the leaſt Proof or Probability. Both TRISTAN and he are agreed that *Gorpiæus* was ſet there to denote the Month in which ARSACES came to the Crown: Which is very probable; for then it wou'd be a mark of Reſpect, and a Compliment to the Emperor; whereas, if it ſtood there only for the Date of the Medal, it wou'd be none at all. If TRISTAN's Opinion, that this Coin belong'd to ARSACES the firſt, were certain, it wou'd be a clear Proof that the

Parthian

Parthian Æra began in the Summer; for *Gorpiæus*, in the old *Macedonian* Year, anſwers to *July*, and *Auguſt* in the *Julian*. On the Reverſe of the ſame Coin is *Ceres Frugifera*, in the ſame Habit in which ſhe is repreſented on the *Greek* Medals, which is a plain Proof of its being a *Greek* Medal; for who can believe that the *Parthians* wou'd ſet the Figure of a *Grecian* Goddeſs on their Coins? They had different Gods of their own, and a different Religion, *viz.* The *Magian*, or old *Perſian* Religion, (vid. *Lucian. Macrob.* p. 466, 7. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* xxx. 2. p. 730.) There appears nothing that has the leaſt Relation to the *Greek* Religion, or Cuſtoms on thoſe Medals, which, as we are ſure from the *Parthian* Characters upon them, are purely *Parthian*. On the Reverſe of one of them, in Mr. Hyam, (*Vol.* 2. *p.* 36.) is the Figure of a Fire-Altar, to denote their worſhipping of Fire; which, by the way, is another Argument of their profeſſing the *Perſian* Religion. The *Perſians* were all Worſhippers of Fire, as is too well known to need any Proof:

and I wonder how this Interpretation came to eſcape Mr. HYAM.

§ VIII. FOR theſe Reaſons I conclude, that all theſe Medals were coin'd in the *Macedonian* Colonies, which lay within the Bounds of the *Parthian* Empire: and, ſince they all come to us from *Turkey*, 'tis probable that they were coin'd in thoſe Provinces of the *Parthian* Empire which are now ſubject to the *Turks*; that is, *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and the adjacent Parts. There is no doubt but all theſe Colonies follow'd the *Æra Seleucid.* We know from C. NORIS, that EDESSA, in *Meſopotamia*, us'd it long after the Deſtruction of the *Syrian* Empire: and there is no doubt but *Seleucia*, which was ſtyl'd by TACITUS, *Seleuci conditoris retinens*, preſerv'd the antient *Æra*, as well as the Language and Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors. And there is no queſtion but the preſent Inhabitants of theſe Parts, who, to this day, compute by that *Æra*, originally learnt it from the Deſcendents of theſe *Macedonians*. And with this *Æra Seleucid.* I ſuppoſe all thoſe Medals to be dated. The chief Motive,

tive, I preſume, which induc'd SPANHEIM, MASSON, and other Criticks to imbrace the contrary Opinion, was, that theſe Coins being ſtruck in honour of the *Parthian* Kings, they ſuppos'd it wou'd follow of courſe that they ought to be dated with the *Parthian Æra*. But by the ſame rule, I might ſuppoſe that the Medals ſtruck by the Cities of *Damaſcus*, *Tripolis*, *Emeſa*, &c. in honour of the *Roman* Emperors, are all dated with the *Roman Æra*, and not the *Æra Seleucid.* tho the contrary has been demonſtrated by C. NORIS. And why is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the *Greek* Cities in the *Parthian* Empire ſet down their own *Æra* in thoſe Medals which they coin'd to compliment the *Parthian* Kings, as thoſe *Syrian* Cities did in the Coins which they ſtruck to compliment the *Roman* Emperors? The Caſes are exactly parallel.

§ IX. THERE remains nothing of this Article, but to prove that the Dates of the *Parthian* Medals will agree with the *Æra Seleucid.* There are ſeveral of them with Dates, where the *Parthian*

King is only mention'd by the Name of ARSACES, which was common to all their Princes. We are ignorant to what King theſe Coins belong, and conſequently can't judge whether their Dates agree or diſagree with the *Æra Seleucid.* There are only four, that I know of, with Dates, where the particular Name of the King is ſet down, *viz.* VOLOGESUS. The firſt bears Date *A.* 451, (*Patin. Sueton.* p. 202.) The ſecond *A.* 454, (*Hyam* vol. i. p. 149.) The third *A.* 461, (*Hyam.* vol. ii. p. 36.) And the laſt, which is Mr. MASSON's, *A.* 465. All theſe Dates, reckoning from *A. V. C. Varr.* 442, in the Autumn, in which the *Æra Seleucid.* began, will concur with the Reign of VOLOGESUS the Second. The firſt begins *A. V. C.* 892, in the ſecond Year of ANTONINUS PIUS, and the laſt fourteen Years after in the ſame Reign. 'Tis plain that all theſe Years will fall within the Compaſs of VOLOGESUS the Second's Reign; for he was King of *Parthia* toward the latter end of HADRIAN, after the end of the *Jewiſh* War, (*Dio.* p. 794.) continu'd ſo all the Reign of ANTONINUS PIUS, and after

his Death began a War with his Succeſſor, M. ANTONINUS, as we know from XIPHILIN, LUCIAN, EUSEBIUS, *&c.* This is my opinion of the matter, which I won't warrant for a Demonſtration, but conſider it only as a probable Hypotheſis. Time, and new Medals, may diſcover the Truth. If there ſhall be any found hereafter with Dates, and with the particular Name of a King upon them, the beginning and end of whoſe Reign is certainly known, the Diſpute will be ſoon over. Or if any new Coins ſhall appear, without the King's Name upon them, in caſe their Dates fall ſhort of 56, they will deſtroy my Hypotheſis; and in caſe they exceed 482, will abſolutely confirm it.

THERE are abundance of other very fine Medals in Mr. HYAM's *Teſoro*, which 'twould be endleſs to reckon up; but none of them all pleas'd me more than the Duke of *Devon*'s Medal, (*Vol.* II. *p.* 124.) with the little Animal on it, of which I ſent you a Draught laſt Year. 'Tis a moſt extraordinary Creature; and to this Coin we owe this addition to our Hiſtory of *Quadrupeds*:

drupeds : For tho a few of the Antients, and ſome modern Travellers have mention'd it, it has not been deſcrib'd by GESNER, RAY, or any of our natural Hiſtorians. I have ſubſcrib'd to Dr. BENTLEY's *Greek* Teſtament, as I ſuppoſe you have done : and I hope you will incourage all your Friends to contribute to ſo noble a Work. By this time I have tir'd you, and ſhall conclude with the Aſſurance, that I am, with the greateſt Reſpect, Yours, &c.

A

DISSERTATION

Upon the Age of the

PHILOPATRIS,

A

DIALOGUE,

Commonly Attributed to

LUCIAN:

In ſeveral LETTERS to

Mr. *K*——

A

DISSERTATION

Upon the Age of the

PHILOPATRIS.

LETTER I.

SIR,

IT will be neceſſary, before I go about to ſettle the Age of the *Philopatris*, to take a ſhort view of the Deſign and Argument of the Diſcourſe.

'TIS a Dialogue between CRITIAS and TRIEPHON; the firſt a profeſs'd Hea-

then,

then, the other an *Epicurean* perſonating a Chriſtian. The Deſign of it is, partly to repreſent the Chriſtians as a Sect of Men diſaffected to Government, and dangerous to Civil Society; partly to expoſe their Opinions, as the Trinity, the Creation of the World, with ſeveral other Articles of our Faith; which is a plain Proof that the Chriſtian Trinity is here ridicul'd, not the *Platonick*, as ſome late *Socinian* Writers, in anſwer to Dr. BULL, have fooliſhly pretended. Toward the latter end of the Dialogue, CLEOLAUS enters with the good News of a great Victory obtain'd by the *Romans* over the *Perſians*. TRIPHON takes occaſion from thence to magnify the preſent Emperor, and the Happineſs the *Romans* enjoy'd under his Reign; and, among his other Victories, reckons the Reduction of *Egypt*, and the putting a ſtop to the Incurſions of the *Scythians*.

THESE three memorable Events are the only Lights we have left to diſcover the certain Time in which this Treatiſe was written. 'Tis very plain that the Emperor, in whoſe Reign it was compos'd, had

had beaten the *Scythians*, reduc'd *Egypt*, and just before the writing of it had given a great Overthrow to the *Persians*: So that our Business is next to inquire, In which of the Emperors Reigns these several Circumstances all concurr'd.

MARCILIUS declares for NERO; but nothing like this happen'd in his Reign. The only Argument he produces for his Opinion, is, That TRIEPHON pretends to have been baptiz'd by an old *Galilæan* who had been rapt up into the third Heaven, εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας; which, says he, must be understood of St. PAUL, who liv'd in NERO's Time, and had been rapt up into the third Heaven. But this Argument has no Force in it. 'Tis well known that the Heathens, in contempt, call'd all Christians *Galilæans*; and as for the other part of the Description, I see no Reason why it should be apply'd to St. PAUL rather than any other Christian Priest. Does not our Author give the same Character of the whole Christian Church? Does not he call them, throughout the whole Dialogue, ἀιθέριοι, ἀιθεροβατοῦντες, δαιμόνιοι, ἀεροβατοῦντες,

τύρλες, *&c.* that is, a Company of dreaming Enthuſiaſts, who, like St. PAUL, pretended to a Power of flying to Heaven when they pleas'd?

MICYLLUS thinks 'twas written in TRAJAN's Time; but that's impoſſible: For the *Oneirocritica* of ARTEMIDORUS are cited in this Dialogue, which Work is ſtill extant; and, if we may take the Author's own Word for it, was written above twenty Years after TRAJAN's Death; and conſequently this Work could not be compos'd in TRAJAN's Time, as MICYLLUS; much leſs in NERO's, as MARCILIUS pretends.

I AM ſo far of Dr. BULL's Opinion, that 'twas written before the Council of *Nice*, and in the Time of the Heathen Emperors: For ſure no one durſt have talk'd ſo ſaucily of the Chriſtian Religion under the Reign of a Chriſtian Emperor. But I can by no means agree with the Doctor, that LUCIAN was the Author of it. 'Tis ſo infinitely below the Wit, the Spirit, and the Politeneſs of that matchleſs Writer,

Writer, that 'tis ſtrange ſo learned and diſcerning a Critick as Dr. BULL, could once think of fathering it upon him. But I ſhall wave all Arguments that may be drawn from Style and Criticiſm: For if I can prove by Chronological Reaſons that this Piece was written long after the Reign of ANTONINUS, it will of courſe follow, that LUCIAN cou'd not be the Author of it.

I CONFESS that Dr. BULL, by fixing this Dialogue to the Age of ANTONINUS, has come nearer the Truth than any other Critick: For it muſt be own'd, that all the ſeveral Circumſtances, before-mention'd, concurr'd in his Reign. He overthrew the *Perſians*, the *Scythians*, and reduc'd *Egypt*: But allowing all this, it cou'd never be written in his Reign.

I TAKE it for granted, that this Dialogue was compos'd juſt after a memorable Victory obtain'd over the *Perſians*, as is manifeſt from the cloſe of the Diſcourſe, where the Reduction of *Egypt* is likewiſe mention'd as an Action of an

elder Date; which is a plain Proof that the Victory here mention'd was not that which was won by ANTONINUS: For his Wars with *Perſia* were ended divers Years before the Revolt of *Egypt*; and therefore the Dialogue could not be written in his Time. This may be eaſily prov'd by the Authority of all the Writers of theſe Times.

EUTROPIUS, POEANIUS, AURELIUS VICTOR, and OROSIUS, all with one Conſent relate the *Perſian* War, as the firſt remarkable Action of ANTONINUS's Reign. XIPHILINUS, a Writer of good Credit, who in his Hiſtory follows exactly the Order of Time, places it in the beginning of his Reign, before the Revolt of *Egypt*. EUSEBIUS places the taking of *Seleucia* in the fifth Year of his Reign, and the Triumph of the two Emperors in the Year following, when the War was completely ended; which Account is confirm'd by CAPITOLINUS in the Life of VERUS, *c.* 7. in the Life of ANTONINUS, *c.* 8. *c.* 13. From all theſe Authorities 'tis very plain, that the *Perſian*

ſian War was ended in the fifth or ſixth Year of ANTONINUS, ſome Years before the War of *Egypt*, as I ſhall prove in the next Article.

XIPHILINUS (as I have already obſerv'd) places the Rebellion of *Egypt* after the War of *Perſia*. CAPITOLINUS places it after the Death of VERUS, (*c.* 20, 21. *in Vitâ Anton.*) which happen'd in the ninth, or, as others ſay, the tenth of ANTONINUS; either of which will ſerve my preſent Purpoſe, ſince both Accounts place it ſeveral Years after the War of *Perſia*. The ſame thing may be eaſily inferr'd from MARIUS MAXIMUS, who wrote the Reign of ANTONINUS. His firſt Book is an Hiſtory of the joint Reign of ANTONINUS and VERUS; the ſecond of ANTONINUS's Reign after the Death of his Collegue VERUS, (ſee *Vulcatius Gallicanus in Vitâ Avidii Caſſii*, c. 9.) And in this laſt Book he relates the Rebellion of *Egypt*, (ſee the ſame, *c.* 6.) which is a moſt manifeſt Proof that it happen'd after the Death of VERUS.

FROM what has been ſaid, it is plain that the particular Events mention'd in this Dialogue, can never be apply'd to the Reign of ANTONINUS; nor indeed of any other Emperor except DIOCLESIAN: in whoſe Reign they all met together in the ſame Order of Time as they are ſet down by our Author, as may be eaſily ſeen in all the Hiſtorians of that Age; but more particularly in EUSEBIUS's *Chronicon*, who places the Wars with the *Scythians*, and the Reduction of *Egypt* many Years before the great Victory he obtain'd over NARSEUS King of *Perſia*, in the 302d Year of Chriſt, and 23 Years before the Council of *Nice*; at which time I do verily believe this Dialogue was written.

THE Diſcourſe it ſelf has all the Marks of a barbarous Age, and has not one good Quality to recommend it; being made up of the two worſt Ingredients that can enter into the Compoſition of any Man or Book, Dullneſs and Profaneneſs.

I am, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER II.

SIR,

I NEVER made the leaſt Doubt of LUCIAN's outliving ANTONINUS; as you might eaſily have inferr'd from my laſt Letter, where I ſay, that if I cou'd prove the *Philopatris* to be written long after the Reign of ANTONINUS, it wou'd of courſe follow, that LUCIAN cou'd not be the Author of it.

BUT bring him down, if you pleaſe, as low as the end of SEVERUS, about thirty Years after the Death of ANTONINUS; what Advantage will you gain by this Conceſſion? If LUCIAN did not write this Piece in ANTONINUS's Reign, as you ſeem to intimate, there is not the leaſt Colour or Pretence for his writing it under the ſucceeding Emperors. Can the Victories mention'd in the *Philopatris* be apply'd to either of his four Succeſſors? Did COMMODUS, PERTINAX, or JULIANUS, ever overthrow the *Perſians*?

or was *Egypt* ever conquer'd by SEVERUS? And without the Concurrence of all theſe Circumſtances, can you fix the Age of the Dialogue to either of their Reigns? So that if LUCIAN did not write it in the Time of ANTONINUS (as I have prov'd in my former that he did not) 'tis plain he did not write it at all.

IN the next place you alledge, that my Account does not agree with DIOCLESIAN's Reign, becauſe the Victory over the *Scythians* is laſt mention'd in the *Philopatris*; and conſequently happen'd after the other two: But you muſt pardon me if I utterly deny the Conſequence. Nothing can be plainer than that the *Scythian* Victory was before the *Perſian*. Is it not moſt evident, that this Dialogue was held the very moment the News arriv'd of a great Victory obtain'd over the *Perſians?* Does not CLEOLAUS come in poſt-haſte, and all out of breath, to impart the good News to his Friends? and if the *Scythian* Victory happen'd afterwards, how cou'd they mention it then? Cou'd they ſpeak of a thing before they knew

it

it, and before it really was? 'Tis plainly impoſſible.

BESIDES, is it not manifeſt that the *Perſian* Victory was News to CRITIAS and TRIEPHON? But the *Egyptian* and *Scythian* Victories were known to TRIEPHON before, and conſequently were of an elder Date.

HAVING clear'd theſe two Points, I ſhall proceed to your laſt Objection, which ſeems to carry moſt Weight in it. You ask me, To which of the two Emperors the Conqueſt of *Arabia* belongs? I ſay, To neither: Nor does our Author ſay it was conquer'd, but impudently affirms it wou'd be. "The Pride of *Perſia*, *ſays* "*he*, is humbled, and all *Arabia* ſhall be "reduc'd by our Arms." Can you infer from this, that *Arabia* was then over-run by the *Romans*? Will you take his Prophecy for a Hiſtory? Muſt the vain Hopes of a flattering Sophiſt paſs current for authentick Truth, and undoubted Matter of Fact? Is it not manifeſt, from what follows, that *Arabia* was not then ſubdu'd?

for TRIEPHON, you ſee, does not number it among the other Victories of the Emperor. So that it is not incumbent on me to fix the Conqueſt of all *Arabia* (πᾶσα χθὼν ἀραβίας) to either of the two Emperor's Reigns, till you can make it plainly appear from the *Philopatris* that it was really conquer'd at that Time, which I am very certain no Man living can do. I wou'd be glad to know if ever the *Romans* were Maſters of all *Arabia*; nay, I will be content to give up the whole Cauſe, if you can prove by any good Writer, before CONSTANTINE the Great, that they ever ſaw the third part of *Arabia Fœlix*.

I PRESUME I have ſufficiently prov'd that the Conqueſt of *Arabia* was only a vain Conceit of our Sophiſt, which never came to paſs; and ought not, therefore, to be reckon'd among the Circumſtances which are to determine the Date of the Dialogue.

ALL I have ſaid now, is to confirm my former Arguments; and if this will not

not ſatisfy you, I promiſe you ſome new ones in my next. I am thorowly convinc'd of the Truth of my Hypotheſis, and every Moment I find new Arguments to fix me.

THE Paſſage you mention is without doubt an Alluſion to the Lord's-Prayer. I am, *&c.*

LETTER III.

SIR, *Bake, Sept.* 2. 1705.

MR. *WOTTON* has done me a great deal of Honour in mentioning me with ſo advantageous a Character, and which I ſo little deſerve; and I am the more oblig'd to him for it, becauſe I have little Acquaintance with him.

I NEVER read Mr. DODWELL's Lectures; but what you ſend me out of them lies ſo very open, that I cannot help making ſome Remarks on it.

THAT

THAT LUCIAN was *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, or Governor of *Egypt*, is a peculiar Conceit of Mr. DODWELL. The Criticks are not agreed what Employment he had in *Egypt*. Some ſay he was an *Aſſeſſor*; others a *Procurator*; but 'tis certain he was not *Præfect*: For (in his *Apologia pro mercede conductis*, the only Place where any mention is made of his having an Office in *Egypt*) he ſays, That the Poſt he was then in was a ſtep to the Government of a Province; which plainly ſhews that he was not then the Governor of any. The moſt learned VALESIUS, in his Notes on MARCELLINUS, *p.* 398. and on EUSEBIUS, *p.* 147. hath ſo effectually prov'd that LUCIAN was only *Hypomnematographus*, or Regiſter of *Alexandria*, that I thought no Critick wou'd have diſputed it for the future; not even Mr. DODWELL, tho for the moſt part he has the Generoſity to be of the weakeſt ſide.

THAT LUCIAN wrote the *Philopatris*, when he had this Poſt in *Egypt*, is another Diſcovery that no Critick ever made

made till Mr. DODWELL aroſe. 'Tis as clear as the Sun, that this Dialogue, if LUCIAN be the Author, was made in the time of the *Perſian* War, during the Life of VERUS; as he himſelf owns in his Treatiſe *De Fortitudine Martyrum*. This War ended in the fifth Year of ANTONINUS; and 'tis impoſſible that LUCIAN cou'd be at that time Regiſter of *Alexandria*: For (in the *Apologia pro mercede conductis*) he ſays, That when he enter'd upon that Office he was in an extreme old Age, and had one Leg in CHARON's Boat. But if he were ſo old in the fifth Year of ANTONINUS, how comes it to paſs that we have ſome of his Pieces, which were certainly written in the Reign of COMMODUS, fifteen Years after, as the *Pſeudomantis*, and the *Rhetorum Præceptor*? Can any one believe that a Man ſo extremely old could be alive, much leſs be a Writer, ſo many Years after? As for the *Pſeudomantis*, VOSSIUS *De Hiſt. Græc.* hath long ago obſerv'd, that 'twas written after the Death of ANTONINUS; and ſo was the *Rhetorum Præceptor*, as I ſhall prove in my larger Diſcourſe; wherein I

intend to ſettle the Age of LUCIAN, to diſtinguiſh between his genuine and counterfeit Works, and to fix the Chronology of all of them who have any Notes of Time to determine it.

WHAT I have ſaid on this Article is ſufficient to ſhow the Weakneſs of Mr. DODWELL's Conjecture: To which I might add, That if LUCIAN wrote this Dialogue in the Time of the *Perſian* War, how cou'd he mention the Rebellion and Reduction of *Egypt*, which happen'd ſo many Years after? for which I refer you to my former Letters.

I KNOW of no Phraſes in the *Philopatris* peculiar to *Egypt*, except the Word *Meſori*, which is the *Egyptian* Name for our Month of *Auguſt*, and continues ſo to this Day in the *Coptic* Language, as VANSLEVIUS aſſures us in his Travels.

THERE is indeed mention made of Hieroglyphical Letters; and CRATO is ſtyl'd πολίτικὸς, which SOZOMEN ſays was a Term us'd by the *Alexandrians* to diſtinguiſh

tinguiſh themſelves from the other *Egyptians* who liv'd in the Country. There are two other barbarous Words, ἐλεντασμὺς and εἰραμάγγας, which are only Miſtakes of the Copiers; and by a very ſlight Alteration I have corrected and made them good *Greek*. CHLEUOCHARMUS likewiſe, and another nameleſs Perſon, ſeem, by the Deſcription given of them, to be Monks or Hermits of *Egypt*. But what does all this amount to? becauſe ſome Perſons in the Dialogue are *Egyptians*, will it neceſſarily follow that LUCIAN was the Author, and reſided in *Egypt* when he wrote it? The Conſequence is ſo falſe, that from theſe very Paſſages I will undertake to demonſtrate, that LUCIAN cou'd not be the Author of it. This ſhall be the Subject of my next Letter, which I will ſend you as ſoon as I have a more particular Account from you of the Arguments in Mr. DODWELL's Lectures.

I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER IV.

SIR,

MR. *DODWELL*, in his Lectures, fixes the Date of the *Philopatris* to the Reign of SEVERUS, *A. C.* 200; altho, in his Treatiſe *De Fortitudine Martyrum*, he had fix'd it to the Reign of M. ANTONINUS: nor is he pleas'd to give us any Reaſon for the Change of his Opinion. But I wou'd fain know of him how it comes to paſs that the Conqueſt of *Egypt* is reckon'd among the Trophies of SEVERUS. Was the Sword ever drawn in *Egypt*, or any Battle, Siege, or Act of Hoſtility there in all his Reign? Nor did SEVERUS ever reduce the *Scythians*; for he had never any War with them.

I HAVE read his Lectures all over; and own my Opinion frankly, I think very meanly of the whole Performance. 'Tis a looſe Rhapſody of crude Paradoxes, and precarious Reaſonings. I have a great Reſpect for Mr. DODWELL's great Reading and

and Induſtry; but Judgment muſt be born, and never can be taught.

I CAME with mighty Expectation to the two Fragments of the *Acta Diurna*, publiſh'd in his *Appendix*, but never was more diſappointed; for I did but caſt my Eye on them, and immediately diſcover'd them to be Forgeries.

IN the firſt Fragment, which belongs to the 586th Year of the City, there is mention made of a Banker who liv'd at the Sign of the *Cimbrian Shield*. But how came the *Romans*, in that Age, ſo well acquainted with the *Cimbrians*, and the Shape of their Shields, as to hang them up for Sign-Poſts? 'Tis moſt evident, by the expreſs Teſtimony of PLUTARCH, (*in Mario*) and TACITUS, (*de Morib. Germ.* c. 37.) that, when the *Cimbrians* made their firſt Irruption into *Gaul*, above fifty Years after the Date of this Fragment, the *Romans* were then Strangers to their very Name; they knew not who they were, or whence they came, nor had they ever heard of them before. Can there be

a clearer Demonſtration of this Fragment's being a Forgery?

THE ſecond Fragment, which is above an hundred Years younger, makes mention of the Quarrels and Tumults between the two Factions of MILO and CLODIUS, which moſt certainly happen'd after that Year. Mr. DODWELL was aware of this Difficulty, and offers to ſalve all by the help of a weak Suppoſition, which is not worth an Anſwer. I am, *&c.*

LETTER V.

SIR,

I HAVE receiv'd yours, for which I thank you. I have not Leiſure at preſent to anſwer the ſeveral Parts of it. I ſhall only make one Obſervation upon the latter Part of it, wherein you alledge, that the Victories which TRIEPHON reckons up, are to be underſtood as ſpoken of the future. I can eaſily demonſtrate the contrary; but allowing it to be true, it utterly

utterly deſtroys your Suppoſition of the Dialogue's being written under ANTONINUS. I ſhall only demand this Poſtulatum, namely, that it was written juſt after a great Victory obtain'd over the *Perſians*. This wants no Proof, and you your ſelf own it in your Letter. The Words are, ὡς ἴδωσι —— Αἰγυπτίων δουλεμένην. This ſhews that *Egypt* was then in actual Rebellion; for it wou'd be a ridiculous Compliment to the Emperor to wiſh for ſubduing of one of his own Provinces, which was not then in Arms againſt him. 'Twou'd be as arrant a Jeſt as if our late Addreſſes on the Victory of *Hochſtette*, had hop'd for the Conqueſt of *Wales*, or the Reduction of *Ireland*. You are certainly too candid an Adverſary to diſpute this Conſequence. But if *Egypt* had then rebell'd, how then can this Paſſage be apply'd to the Reign of ANTONINUS? Did not the Rebellion under ANTONINUS break out (as I have prov'd in my firſt Letter, to which I refer you) five or ſix Years after the *Perſian* War was completely ended? And if the Dialogue was written juſt after the *Perſian* Victory, how comes it to paſs that

it mentions Events which happen'd ſo many Years after? If you can reconcile this Contradiction, *eris mihi magnus Apollo.*

I HAVE collected Materials for eight Sheets of Paper upon this Subject; wherein I ſhall anſwer all your Objections, and confirm my firſt Arguments by ſtronger Proofs, and produce divers new ones. You muſt not expect any of it in parts till the whole is finiſh'd; but I promiſe you in a few Poſts to anſwer every particular of your laſt Letter.

I HAVE read over *The Tale of a Tub.* There is a good deal of wild Wit in it, which pleaſes by its Extravagance and Uncommonneſs: But I think it upon the whole, the profaneſt Piece of Ribaldry which has appear'd in the World ſince the Day of RABELAIS, the great Original of Banter and Ridicule. I am, *&c.*

LET-

LETTER VI.

SIR, *Bake, Jan.* 30. 170$\frac{4}{5}$.

I HAD laſt Week the Favour of yours, with the Book you ſent me by C. PENNOCK, for which I thank you.

THAT ORIGEN dy'd under GALLUS, *A.C.* 253, I have the Authority of St. JEROME, (vid. *Catal. in Orig.*) and of EUSEBIUS, (*Hiſt. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 1.) and of PHOTIUS, (*p.* 297. *Edit. Heſchel.*) PAMPHILUS, (*apud Phot. Ib.*) places his Death higher under DECIUS; and I am pretty ſure that you can produce no antient Writer who brings him lower than GALLUS, except EPIPHANIUS, (*De Menſ. & Ponder*, p. 174. vol. ii.) who is a ſorry Author at the beſt, and in a point of Chronology or Geography never to be depended on, as PETAVIUS has ſufficiently ſhewn. But allowing him to have dy'd in the firſt of VALERIAN, *A.C.* 252, there is only ſome Months Difference in our Account; and my Argument ſtill ſtands

good againſt his being alive, *A. C.* 261, which is Mr. DODWELL's Date of the *Philopatris*.

HERACLAS dy'd ſome Years before. This we are ſure of from the Succeſſion of the *Alexandrian* Biſhops. He ſucceeded DEMETRIUS in the See of *Alexandria*, *A. C.* 231, (*Euſeb. Chron.*) was Biſhop ſixteen Years, (*Ib.* & *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. c. xxxv.) and conſequently dy'd *A. C.* 247, about ſix Years before ORIGEN.

ORIGEN was degraded, excommunicated and baniſh'd *Alexandria* by the ſame DEMETRIUS; which muſt be, at the loweſt, before *A. C.* 231; and PAMPHILUS (*apud Phot. Ib.*) ſays, That all his former Followers and Advocates ſubſcrib'd this Sentence, in which number HERACLAS muſt be included: But to put the matter paſt doubt, GENNADIUS, (*vid. Catal. in Theoph. Alex.*) makes him the chief Author and Promoter of it. So that HERACLAS had not held Communion with ORIGEN thirty Years before Mr. DOD-

DODWELL's Date of the Dialogue; nor do I think that he ever was at *Alexandria* after his Baniſhment. And how well all this agrees with Mr. DODWELL's Hypotheſis, I leave you to judge.

I SAID that the *Philopatris* was infinitely below the Spirit, the Wit, and the Politeneſs of LUCIAN; but I never thought the Author ſo void of common Senſe, as to be guilty of ſuch monſtrous Abſurdities as you ſeem to charge him with. To write without Spirit and Politeneſs, and to obſerve no Rules of good Writing, are different things. TOM. RYMER, in his *Edgar*, has kept nicely to the Rules of the Stage, and yet the Criticks pretend that there are not three good Lines in the Play. Genius and Elevation can never be inſpir'd by Precepts.

YOUR Hypotheſis of ANTONINUS is certainly inconſiſtent with my ſecond and third *Poſtulatum*, both which you allow: For if the Dialogue was written in his Reign, during the War with the *Parthians*, which ended *A. C.* 165, how cou'd the Rebellion of *Egypt* be mention'd at

that Time, which broke out *A.C.* 170, five Years after? So that you muſt prove me miſtaken in my Chronology, or give up your Hypotheſis.

TO be ſure I will treat Mr. DODWELL with all the Civility due to his great Worth and Learning. 'Twou'd be a Jeſt for ſo young a Writer as I am to run a muck at a Man of ſo eſtabliſh'd a Reputation.

I AM glad to hear that your Friend Mr. REYNOLDS intends to oblige the World with a new Edition of *Pomponius Mela*. So ingenious a Man, and one who has ſtudy'd the old Geography with ſo much Application, can never fail of making large Improvements to what VOSSIUS and GRONOVIUS have already perform'd on the ſame Argument. I have heard ſo much of his Skill in the antient Geography, that I muſt beg of you to ask him his Opinion in a point of ſome Importance to my preſent Deſign.

THE old Geographers are divided in their Opinion concerning *Egypt*: Some

make

make it part of *Aſia*, others of *Africa*. STRABO and PTOLEMY make the *Red-Sea* and the *Iſthmus* the Boundary between *Aſia* and *Africa*, and conſequently place all *Egypt* in *Africa*. AGATHEMERUS ſeems to follow this Diviſion, and ſo do all the modern Geographers. On the other ſide, DIONYSIUS, MELA, PLINY, ÆTHICUS, and SOLINUS (if I miſtake not) make the *Nile*, while it runs entire in one Stream, and after its Separation, the *Weſtern* Branch of the River, to be the Bound between the two Continents; and conſequently make the greateſt part of *Egypt* belong to *Aſia*. The Point I wou'd have you conſult Mr. REYNOLDS on is this, Whether the Hiſtorians and Geographers, who wrote under the lower Empire about DIOCLESIAN's and CONSTANTINE's Time, have follow'd the Opinion of STRABO and PTOLEMY, or the other. I am, *&c.*

A Copy of Mr. DODWELL's *Letter to Mr.* K——.

SIR,

" THIS is to ſatisfy you that I have
" receiv'd your Diſſertation con-
" cerning the Age of the *Philopatris*, in-
" clos'd in a Letter from Mr. PENTON
" to Mr. CHERRY, which inform'd us alſo
" of the Author: and that ſince I have
" receiv'd one from your ſelf on the ſame
" Subject. My opinion concerning the
" Age of that Dialogue, and of LUCIAN
" too, you will find moſt accurately di-
" geſted in my Diſcourſe on *Iſidorus Cha-*
" *racenus*, in the ſecond Volume of Dr.
" HUDSON's Geographers, *p.* 45. So
" then now, I confeſs, I incline ſo far to
" your Opinion, as to believe it later than
" LUCIAN, yet not ſo late as the Time
" of DIOCLESIAN. The Wars you
" mention in that Reign were all finiſh'd
" before the Perſecution, while the Chriſ-
" tians were very well treated, as I have
" ſhown in my *Cyprianic. Diſſ. de pauci-*
" *tate*

" *tate Martyrum.* The Chriſtians cou'd
" not then be ſo diſaffected to the *Ro-*
" *man* Empire, as the Author of this Dia-
" logue repreſented them: However,
" TRIEPHON mentions, among the o-
" ther Hopes he promiſes to himſelf, that
" his Children might enjoy from the hap-
" py Government of the then preſent Em-
" peror, τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν Σκυθῶν πανομένας, as
" you have obſerv'd. Theſe Words have
" not (that I know of) been ſufficiently
" conſider'd by them who have endea-
" vour'd to ſettle the Age of this Book.
" Theſe Incurſions of the *Scythians* into
" the *Roman* Provinces, began upon the
" Extinction of the Race of the *Boſpo-*
" *ran* Kings, as * ZOSIMUS teaches us.
" While that Race laſted, the *Romans*
" made uſe of them to keep the *Scythians*
" within the *Tanais*, as he tells us, and
" as appears from † PLINY the younger,
" under TRAJAN, and ARRIAN's *Peri-*
" *plus*, under HADRIAN. The *Epocha*
" therefore of their Incurſions ‡ ZOSI-

* Lib. 1. p. 28. Ed. Oxon. † Epiſt. Lib. 10.
‡ Lib. 1. p. 22.

MUS

" MUS derives from the Troubles of the
" latter end of PHILIP: By which we
" understand that this Book cou'd not have
" been written till after the Year of our
" Christian *Æra* 249; which is too late
" for the Life of LUCIAN. Besides, the
" Author makes *Rome* the common City,
" and *Patria* even of his *Alexandrians*,
" and of all free-born Inhabitants of the
" *Roman* Empire. He makes the Concerns
" of their πόλις and the κόσμος to be the
" same, ἀεροβατοῦντες ἐπυνθάνοντο πῶς τὰ τῆς πόλεως
" καὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου. This πόλις cou'd be no o-
" ther than the *Roman* Empire, which then
" was popularly known by the name of
" κόσμος, in the New Testament it self, as
" well as the Heathen Writers of those
" Times. That πόλις it was which had the
" στρατόπεδα. So afterwards, ἀταξίαι δὲ καὶ τα-
" ραχαὶ τὴν πόλιν καταλήψονται, τὰ στρατόπεδα ἥττονα
" τῶν ἐναντίων γενήσονται. This πόλις (which he
" also makes their πάτρις) cou'd be then no
" other than *Rome*, when no other Cities
" were allow'd the *Jus Gladii*. These
" things suppose that Extent of the *Ro-*
" *man* City now mention'd, as including
" all the free Inhabitants of the *Roman*
" Em-

" Empire, which was granted by ANTO-
" NINUS, and no other ANTONINUS
" than CARACALLA, as learned Men
" are now agreed: This muſt have been
" after the Year 211, of the lateſt for
" the Age of LUCIAN. The name of
" *Perſians* us'd for the antient Monarchs
" bordering on the *Roman* Empire, if it
" be us'd in contradiſtinction to the *Par-*
" *thians*, cou'd be no elder than the
" times of ALEXANDER SEVERUS.
" And tho he uſually ſpoke the Language
" of thoſe *Greeks* who liv'd in the times
" of the *Perſians*, before ARSACES, as
" expreſſing his own Sentiments in the
" very Words of their antient Poets; yet
" in this place he ſeems really to mean thoſe
" *Perſians* who deſcended from that late
" ARTAXERXES, who was conquer'd by
" the *Roman* Emperor ALEXANDER.
" This I gather from thoſe Words of his,
" wherein he expreſſes his hopes that his
" Children ſhou'd ſee τὰ τῶν Περσῶν τεκνὰ δούλειον
" ἦμαρ ἄγοντα. Theſe might have been the
" Words of an antient *Greek* Poet, re-
" lating to the firſt Expedition of the *Per-*
" *ſians*, under DARIUS HYSTASPIS, a-
" gainſt

" gainst the *Greeks*, for gratifying his
" Wife with *Greek* Slaves; ominating
" that when that Poet wrote, the *Greeks*
" shou'd have the Satisfaction of seeing
" their Design of Slavery turn'd upon
" themselves. This might have been the
" Prospect on the promising Expeditions
" of CIMON, or AGESILAUS, or PHI-
" LIP, or ALEXANDER. Yet a Poet
" who had liv'd after ALEXANDER had
" fulfill'd it, might with Decorum enough
" bring in a Person ominating it, before it
" was fulfill'd, which I rather believe to
" have been the Case. Our Author brings
" in another Passage of a Poet speaking
" of the *Persians* as very antient, [πέπτωκεν]
" ὀφρὺς ἡ πάλαι βοωμένη Περσῶν: which shews
" his distance from the time he speaks of.
" But it was not so applicable to the *Par-*
" *thians*, who had themselves been sub-
" ject to the *Persians*, and who had ne-
" ver given that Provocation either to the
" *Greeks* or *Romans*, of making an ag-
" gressive War purposely with a design of
" enslaving. But those Grudges had, even
" in that Age, made the mention of *Per-*
" *sian* Slaves very acceptable. This there-
" fore

" fore is obſerv'd by * LAMPRIDIUS as a
" peculiar Recommendation of the Tri-
" umph of ALEXANDER SEVERUS:
" *Tum primum Perſæ ſervi apud Roma-*
" *nos fuerunt.* The rather for the Aver-
" ſion and Indignation the *Perſians* had
" for being themſelves reduc'd to that ſame
" Condition which they had been ſo wil-
" ling to impoſe on others. So it fol-
" lows, *Quos quidem, quia indigne ferunt*
" *Perſarum reges quempiam ſuorum ali-*
" *cui ſervire, acceptis pretiis reddidit;*
" *pretiumq; vel iis qui manu ceperant*
" *ſervos dedit, vel in Ærarium contulit.*
" Accordingly ALEXANDER himſelf rec-
" kons it among his own Glorys, *Multos*
" *Perſarum cepimus, eoſdemq; vendidi-*
" *mus* †. I remember no ſuch Obſerva-
" tions concerning any of the *Parthian*
" Triumphs. But in the caſe of the *Ro-*
" *mans*, there was, ſoon after theſe In-
" curſions of the *Scythians*, a new Pro-
" vocation to Reſentment in the Capti-
" vity, and inſulting ſervile Uſage of the

* In Alexandro Severo, cap. lv. † Ibid. cap. lvi.

" Em-

" Emperor VALERIAN. What the *Ro-*
" *mans* had done in their triumphal Effi-
" gies, making their Enemies Backs a Foot-
" ſtool for mounting their Horſes, that
" ſame Uſe the *Perſians* made of the Per-
" ſon of that unhappy Emperor. And
" it was heavily reſented by the neigh-
" bouring Princes, as appears by ſeveral
" of their Letters in *Trebellius Pollio.*
" This, in their freſh Indignation, they
" might think not atonable but by the
" Slavery of the *Perſian* Poſterity, with
" which TRIEPHON pleaſes himſelf, as a
" thing not yet indeed accompliſh'd, but
" as a grateful Entertainment, reſerv'd for
" his own Poſterity. Beſides, thoſe Per-
" ſons whom you miſtake for Monks, are
" a great Confirmation of the latter *E-*
" *pocha* of this Work. They are, if *I*
" miſtake not, no other than HERA-
" CLAS, a Diſciple of our ORIGEN, and
" his Maſter ORIGEN himſelf, who were
" as famous as any, at that time, among
" the *Alexandrian* Chriſtians; and there-
" fore as likely Subjects, for our *Alex-*
" *andrian* Droll, as any. His χλευοχαιμαι,
" (a Name given him purpoſely as a Sub-
" ject

" ject of ridicule) with his tatter'd τελέσνιον,
" was, in all probability, that very HE-
" RACLAS, who had, before his Conver-
" ſion, chang'd his common Habit for
" that of a Philoſopher, and kept it ſtill
" after his Converſion; which being ſo
" rare among the *Alexandrian* Chriſtians,
" (whatever it was in *Africa*, when TER-
" TULLIAN wrote his Book *de Pallio*)
" made his Caſe peculiarly remarkable, and
" a fitter Argument for comical Raillery.
" This is the Account his Maſter ORI-
" GEN gives of him, πρότερον κοινῇ ἐδῆτη χρώ-
" μενος, ἀποδυσάμενος δὲ φιλόσοφον ἀνάλαβεν σχῆμα, μέχρι
" τῦ δεῦρο τηρεῖ *. This philoſophical Habit
" is the τελέσνιον. This Perſon, CRITIAS
" ſays, was ſhown to him by another,
" whom he thus deſcribes, ὡς ἐπεδείξατό μοι
" τὶς κακοείμων, ἐξ ὀρέων παρεγενόμενος, κεκαρμένος τὴν
" κόμην, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγεγραμμένον ὄνομα ἱερογλυφι-
" κοῖς γράμμασιν, ὡς ἔτος τῷ χρυσῷ ἐπικλύσει τὴν
" λεωφόρον. The Words ἐξ ὀρέων παρεγενόμενος
" ſeem plainly deſign'd as a ſporting on the
" Name of ORIGEN. This is the very
" Etymology which many late learned
" Men have given of his Name in earneſt,

* Ap. Euſeb. H. Eccl. vi. 19.

" not

" not conſidering that his Name was written
" with ω, not ο, and deriv'd from the *Egyp-*
" *tian* God *Or*, whom the *Greeks* make
" ὠρος, like DIOGENES, or HERMOGE-
" NES, as HUETIUS has obſerv'd: tho
" it might at firſt come from a Man call'd
" *Or*. So we read of an *Egyptian* Ab-
" bot call'd PIOR, which is that very
" Name with the Article prefix'd, accord-
" ing to the Cuſtom of ſeveral *Eaſtern*
" as well as our *Weſtern French* Tongue.
" So *Pirani* in HERODOTUS, is ἱερωνυς,
" that being ſtill the Signification of *Romi*
" even in our modern *Coptick*; and HER-
" MES and CRONUS were Names of
" Gods aſcrib'd to Men. The Deſarts in-
" deed of *Egypt* were in the Mountains,
" of which there are Ridges on both
" ſides of it: And the famous Deſarts of
" *Ninis* and *Scetis* were on that ſide
" which lay next to *Alexandria*. Yet
" this Etymology of ORIGEN's Name
" was more obvious than the true one
" to the *Greek* Colony of the *Alexan-*
" *drians*, who were better acquainted with
" the *Greek* Word ὁρος than the *Egyptian*
" ὠρος, as it was form'd with a *Greek* Ter-
" mination.

" mination. Yet as Mountains are us'd
" for hiding Places proverbially, *Matth.*
" xxiv. 16. *Mark* xiii. 14. *John* vi. 3, 15.
" *Luke* xxi. 21, 23, 30. ſo this Phraſe of
" coming out of the Mountains, might
" ſignify, in the Caſe of ORIGEN, his
" appearing out of his hiding Places; which
" might well enough agree with the Con-
" dition of ORIGEN in a ſtate of Per-
" ſecution, as it is deſcrib'd * by EUSE-
" BIUS. He there indeed ſpeaks of the
" time of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, but
" there were other Perſecutions alſo in
" the latter end of ORIGEN, who reach'd
" the Reign of † GALLUS; wherein, no
" doubt, his Zeal for the Chriſtian Reli-
" gion might oblige him to the like Cau-
" tion: And his pointing at HERACLAS
" to CRITIAS, implies that HERACLAS
" might appear publickly with more Free-
" dom than himſelf; which agrees exact-
" ly with his Caſe, as it is deſcrib'd by
" EUSEBIUS. Our Author's Jeſt there-
" fore implies, that ORIGEN was φεραύγμος,

* Eccl. Hiſt. vi. 3. † Eccl. Hiſt. vii. 1.

" and as well deſerv'd that Name as *if*
" he had been deſcended from the Moun-
" tains, rather than ORUS, for his fre-
" quent Retreats to the Mountains: For
" the Mountains were made Gods, as well
" as ORUS, as you may ſee in LACTAN-
" TIUS *de Mor. Perſec.* Withal, our
" Author's Deſcription of that Perſon fits
" none better than the Perſon of ORI-
" GEN: He makes him παχυσίμαντα. So he
" muſt needs have been, who fulfill'd our
" Saviour's Counſel of having but one
" Coat, as the ſame EUSEBIUS tells us.
" He cou'd not keep his Clothes whole
" who had no changes of Raiment, which
" he might wear whilſt the others were
" mended. His having his Hair ſhaven
" deſcribes his *corona ſacerdotalis*, which,
" as it is very antient in the Diſcipline
" of the Church, ſo might probably be-
" gin in *Egypt* as ſoon as any where; it
" being there the Practice of even the
" Pagan Prieſts of ISIS. His making O-
" RIGEN gather what he pretends him
" to propheſy concerning HERACLAS,
" from hieroglyphical Letters, requir'd his
" being ſhaven; becauſe none but ſuch

" as

" as were ſo, were allow'd to learn the
" Hieroglyphicks, without which he cou'd
" not pretend any Authority for inter-
" preting them. Thus our Author ridi-
" cules the myſtical way of interpreting
" Divine Oracles, for which ORIGEN
" was deſervedly ſo famous. Withal, he
" ridicules St. JOHN here, as well as LU-
" CIAN does in his *vera Hiſtoria*, con-
" cerning the Trees which bear Fruit
" every Month. This γεγραμμένον ὄνομα is
" the very Expreſſion of St. JOHN,
" *Rev.* ii. 17. iii. 12. xvii. 5. xxii. 4. The
" ſame holy Author uſes the Word χαρα-
" κτῆρες in this caſe, which might make our
" Author refer it to hieroglyphical Cha-
" racters, as the firſt myſtical Hereticks
" had alſo each of them ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα in
" their ἑαυτῶν. The Words *Myſtery*
" *Babylon* were likely ſo to be under-
" ſtood by captious Adverſaries. The Pro-
" phecy it ſelf ſeems alſo deſign'd to expoſe
" the ſame Canonical Book of the *Revela-*
" *tions*. The divine Author's Words are,
" ἡ πλατεῖα τῆς πόλεως χρυσίον καθαρόν, XXI. 21.
" What he calls πλατεῖα, the Scoffer rather
" chuſes to expreſs by the myſtical Term

" of λεωφόρος, in the Symbol of the *Py-*
" *thagoreans* : this being his usual way
" to expose sacred things in Scraps of
" elder Heathen Authors, who might seem
" to have any thing like it. This the An-
" tients call'd παραδεῖν; and so ARCHES-
" TUS the *Epicurean* ridicules HOMER,
" in his γαστρονομία, as you may see in A-
" THENÆUS. And in this our Author
" imitates LUCIAN, imposing on our
" sacred Authors, whilst he pretends to
" express their Meaning in other Mens
" Words; Senses very distant from those
" intended by themselves, in order to the
" rendring them ridiculous. Thus he
" wou'd have his Readers understand the
" Prophecy of our Christians so, as if HE-
" RACLAS shou'd rain a golden Shower,
" like that pretended by the Poets to
" DANAE, in the Streets of *Alexandria*.
" This our Author wou'd have taken for
" a Dream, and expounds it unhappily by
" the Rules of * *Oneirocriticks*, as im-
" porting a Disappointment of the De-

* Much Gold a bad Sign. Artem. Oneirocrit. lib. i. c, 5, 6, 53, 79. lib. ii. c. 5, 63.

" signs

" ſigns of the Dreamers in the Riches
" expected, as he wou'd intimate by them.
" His Words are, ὁ καλῶς ἀποβήσονται. So
" ASTRAMPSYCHUS concerning Dreams
" of Gold, χρυσὸν κρατῶν ἄπρακτος ὢν θέλεις ἴσως:
" And ſo ARTEMIDORUS, whom he
" quotes for it, that it wou'd ſignify a
" need of much Gold for ballancing Ac-
" counts, not a receiving it. Still this
" proceeds not only as if theſe Words
" had been a Dream concerning the Ac-
" counts of CRATO, the Uſurer, but as
" if they had been to be underſtood li-
" terally. And to fix it the more ſo,
" that the Event might in a ſhort time
" prove the Prognoſticator a falſe Pro-
" phet, he makes CRATO, who was con-
" cern'd for it in Intereſt, not HERA-
" CLAS himſelf, to limit it to MESORI.
" If we can reckon on any thing in this
" bantering Author's Account, as a real
" matter of Fact, the Uſurer determines
" the time for fulfilling this Prophecy:
" His Words are, ἐκβήσονται δὲ εἰς μιᾶν μεσορεί
" I know no Reaſon ſo likely how the
" Uſurer cou'd aſcertain the time (for the
" Credit of the Chriſtian Prophecy is not

" concern'd in it, being neither from HE-
" RACLAS nor ORIGEN) as the
" numeral Letters of the name of η 8
" HERACLAS, in *Greek*, which ϱ 100
" make juſt 360, the exact num- α 1
" ber of the Days of the *Egyp-* κ 20
" *tian* Year from *Thoth*, leaving λ 30
" out the *Epagomenas*, which α 1
" were intercalated after the end σ 200
" of MESORI. The Uſurer was
" willing to underſtand it as relating to
" his Year's Intereſt, ſo as not to include
" the *Epagomenas*, becauſe the name of
" the Prophet did not include them. So
" that he here ridicules rather the Uſurer,
" than either ORIGEN or HERACLAS.
" If therefore I have here gueſs'd right,
" the name of HERACLAS is as plainly
" ſuppos'd in this Reaſoning, as the name
" of ORIGEN is in the former. This
" Obſervation therefore, if it prove true,
" will ſo confine this Dialogue, as that as
" it was later than the Eruptions of the
" *Scythians*, ſo it cou'd not be very much
" later, that it might be freſh in the
" Memory of ORIGEN, who reach'd no
" further, in that Century, than the Reign

" of GALLUS. The obvious meaning
" of ORIGEN might have been no more
" than this, That HERACLAS, by his
" Catechetical Inſtructions, anſwering the
" χρυσῆ ἐπὶ of the *Pythagoreans*, ſhou'd
" reſtore the Golden Age, and the χρυσῆν
" γένος of Men, who ſhou'd be enabled,
" by the Wings of the Spirit receiv'd in
" Baptiſm, to mount to Heaven by the
" *Northern* Signs of the *Galaxy*; which
" the Philoſophers of thoſe times made
" the λειπόδες, or *via regia* of Souls, for
" mounting to their Celeſtial Habitations.
" This muſt fill that way with myſtically
" Golden Bowls, as thoſe of the Golden
" Age. Here therefore we are to inquire
" directly for the notes of Time men-
" tion'd in this Author: But it will be
" requiſite firſt to digeſt them in the true
" Order wherein he ſuppoſes them. All
" he ſuppoſes paſt is a great Victory a-
" gainſt the *Perſians*. There he uſes the
" Word ἐνίκησεν in the preterperfect Tenſe:
" and on this Victory he grounds all his
" Hopes of the future Succeſſes mention'd
" by him on this occaſion. The next in
" view is the Reduction of *Arabia*, which

" he mentions only in the future Tenſe,
" φάσει δ' ὑπὸ τὰ πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀραβία. The Word
" πᾶσα implies that Part of *Arabia* was
" already conquer'd, but not all; yet ſo
" as that the Reduction of all was already
" under a very promiſing Proſpect. The
" other Particulars, the waſting of *Ba-*
" *bylon*, (that is, of the Country, not of
" the City call'd by that Name) the Re-
" duction of *Egypt*, and the *Perſians*
" Captivity, and the ſtopping the Incur-
" ſions of the *Scythians*, are repreſented
" not as preſent Expectations, but as
" what might be hop'd for at ſome diſ-
" tance, ſuppoſing a further Progreſs of
" the like Succeſſes. TRIEPHON pro-
" miſes theſe things not to himſelf but to
" his Children; nor does he ominate the
" future Slavery to the *Perſians* of the
" preſent Generation, but to their Chil-
" dren alſo: yet not at ſuch a diſtance
" but that they might come to paſs with-
" in the time of the ἀυτοκράτως then living;
" by which he means one ſingle *Roman*
" Emperor, who cou'd not therefore be
" very old when this Dialogue was writ-
" ten. This Repreſentation of the Caſe

" will

" will make it hardly reconcilable with
" your Hypotheſis; for the *Egyptian*
" War with ACHILLEUS was finiſh'd ſe-
" veral Years before the Victory of GA-
" LERIUS MAXIMIANUS againſt NAR-
" SEUS, which was not till the Year
" 302, the Year before the Perſecution,
" as we are aſſur'd by the beſt Author of
" theſe Times, LACTANTIUS, *de Mort.*
" *Perſecutor*. And here, cou'd he who
" ſo pleas'd himſelf with the Hopes of
" *Perſian* Slaves, omit the mention of the
" memorable Captives then taken by GA-
" LERIUS, if that Expedition had given
" our Author the occaſion of writing this
" Dialogue? This Series therefore of theſe
" Affairs being thus ſettled, let us now
" ſee when this State of Affairs firſt oc-
" curr'd, after the now mention'd *Epocha*
" of the *Scythian* Incurſions. The two
" next Succeſſors of PHILIP periſh'd in
" their Attempts to ſtop them, that is, DE-
" CIUS and GALLUS: Neither of theſe
" had any Action againſt the *Perſians*.
" The firſt that after them attempted the
" *Perſians* was VALERIAN; but very un-
" happily and diſhonourably, being himſelf
" taken,

" taken, and treated ſervilely by the *Per-*
" *ſians*. His Son GALLIENUS had no
" Dealings with the *Perſians* in his own
" Perſon; yet the Intereſt he pretended
" in the Affairs of ODENATUS might
" very well intitle him to what is ſaid of
" that Prince then being in this Dialogue.
" ODENATUS proſecuted the Quarrel of
" VALERIAN againſt SAPORES with
" great Succeſs. He was at firſt only a
" Decurio of *Palmyra*, a Subject of the
" *Roman* Empire, who gather'd a tumul-
" tuary Body of *Syrian* Boors, and with
" them defeated the *Perſians*, in ſeveral
" Battles, recovering firſt *Niſibis*, then a
" great part of the Orient, with all *Me-*
" *ſopotamia*, and purſu'd SAPORES, the
" *Perſian* King himſelf, as far as *Cteſi-*
" *phon*, and return'd with great Plunder.
" This *Cteſiphon* is our Author's *Suſa*,
" from the Words of his antient Poet;
" for *Cteſiphon* was the Metropolis of the
" *Parthians*, and of the later *Perſians*
" who ſucceeded them; as SHUSHAN had
" been of the elder *Perſians*, who had
" been overthrown by the *Macedonians*.
" But where is our Author's Poet's *A-*
" *rabia*?

" *rabia*? It is contain'd under the Diſ-
" trict call'd the *Orient*: according to the
" Geography of thoſe times, that Diſtrict
" reach'd from *Aſia minor* to *Egypt*, and
" *Eaſterly* as far as *Meſopotamia* and *Ba-*
" *bylon*, and ſometimes into *Meſopotamia*
" and *Egypt* themſelves. Thus it will
" contain the two *Arabias*, *Petræa* and
" *Deſerta*, beſides the other Parts of *Me-*
" *ſopotamia*; which, from the multitude
" of *Arabian* Colonies, had gain'd the
" Title of *Arabia* alſo, as including all
" theſe Countries, which were then ſubject
" to the *Syrian Antioch* as their common
" Metropolis. Accordingly *Arabia* is
" reckon'd among the Provinces included
" under the *Orient*, in the *Notitia Im-*
" *perii*. This was the *Arabia* the *Ro-*
" *man* Emperors had commonly to do
" with. I know not whether any of
" them penetrated ſo far as *Arabia Fœ-*
" *lix*, beſides TRAJAN and SEVERUS.
" Thus this Hiſtory of ODENATUS agrees
" exactly with our Author's Deſcription
" of it. He had reduc'd *Orientis pleraq*;
" before his Purſuit of the King of *Per-*

" *ſia*

" *ſia* himſelf, as * TREBELLIUS POL-
" LIO tells us. Who can doubt but that
" he muſt even then have recover'd a
" great part of *Arabia*, on which his
" own *Palmyra* ſo nearly border'd ?
" Thence the ſame Author makes him re-
" turn again *in Orientem*, with a Deſign
" of ſuppreſſing the remaining Son of
" MACRIANUS: That was QUIETUS,
" whom his Father had left there when
" he undertook his Expedition againſt AU-
" REOLUS. This being happily accom-
" pliſh'd, muſt put him in a preſent Proſ-
" pect of reducing the whole *Orient*, and
" therefore the Remainder of that ſame
" *Arabia*, πᾶσαν χθόνα Ἀραβίας, as our Au-
" thor's elder Poet expreſſes it. It muſt
" probably relate to thoſe lower Parts of
" the Oriental Dioceſe, which border'd upon
" *Egypt*, which more properly belong'd
" to this *Arabia*; becauſe his former Ac-
" tions had been more *Northerly* and
" *Eaſterly*, in Points different from *E-*
" *gypt*, and the lower Parts of this *A-*
" *rabia*. Thus it appears that the return

* Trig. Tyr. c. 15.

" of

" of ODENATUS muſt fall on the time
" when *Egypt* was under the power of
" GALLIENUS, which muſt have been
" when THEODOTUS, the General of
" GALLIENUS, had taken ÆMILIANUS,
" who uſurp'd the Purple in *Egypt*, alive,
" and ſent him Priſoner to his Maſter
" GALLIENUS. This, in all likelihood,
" ſtopp'd the Progreſs of ODENATUS
" into *Egypt*, becauſe he then pretended no
" other but the ſame Cauſe of GALLIE-
" NUS. Now the time of EMILIANUS's
" Uſurpation in *Egypt* has been very hap-
" pily diſcover'd by our late moſt learned
" and ſagacious Biſhop PEARSON, in his
" *Cyprianick Annals*. He there obſerves
" how DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS,
" in * EUSEBIUS, reckons GALLIENUS
" to have exceeded his ſeventh Year be-
" fore the Uſurpation in *Egypt*, and to
" have begun his ninth at this Reduction.
" This will conclude that Revolt within
" the eighth *Tribunitian* Power of GAL-
" LIENUS; that is, after the middle of the
" Year of our Chriſtian *Epocha* 260. And

* Hiſt. Eccl. vii. c. 23.

" the

" the ſame time of the Year 261, ODE-
" NATUS muſt have gain'd his Victo-
" ries againſt the *Perſians* in that
" very Year wherein MACRIANUS be-
" gan his Uſurpation, as * POLLIO aſ-
" ſures us. Had it been the former
" Year, the Armies had not been in
" ſo great a Suſpenſe, and ſo inclinable
" to chuſe a new Emperor, as POLLIO
" teſtified they were: Not could GAL-
" LIENUS have ſo much exceeded his
" VIIth Year, as DIONYSIUS aſſures
" us alſo he did. He began therefore this
" Year his ſucceſsful Campaign, but very
" early. MACRIANUS muſt certainly
" have begun early, who yet ſeems not
" to have begun before ODENATUS.
" Yet VALENS himſelf was kill'd *June*
" 25th, after himſelf had been the death
" of PISO, who had been ſent to kill
" him by MACRIANUS, after MACRI-
" ANUS had reſolv'd upon his own † U-
" ſurpation. This Year alſo POLLIO
" makes the ſetting up of ÆMILIANUS,
" after the departure of MACRIANUS out

* In duob. Gall. c. 1. † Poll. Trig. Tyran. c. 21.

" of

" of * *Egypt*. But DIONYSIUS writes " this in his *Paſchal Epiſtle* for the next " Year 262, which *Eaſter* fell on *March* " 23d. By that time MACRIANUS and " both his Sons were deſtroy'd yet MA- " CRIANUS had entred on his *Trib. Pot.* 2. " and the News of his, and his other Son's " death, were arriv'd before ODENATUS, " being now return'd from his proſperous " Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, had at- " tack'd the remaining Son in † *Syria*. " It muſt therefore have been very " early in the year that MACRIANUS " aſſum'd the Empire. I ſee nothing " that can hinder but that our Author " might have written his *Philopatris* " in that year 261, upon the freſh News " of ODENATUS's Victories. That ve- " ry Year POLLIO places the defection " of ÆMILIANUS in *Ægypt*, no doubt " after the departure of MACRIANUS. " That ſame Year alſo he places the In- " curſions of the *Scythians* into *Aſia*, " who were indeed driven out the next " Year, according to our Author's Hopes.

* De duob. Gallien. c. 4. † See my Diſſ. Sing. c. 6. at the end of my Lord of *Cheſter's Poſthuma*.

" At

" At the latter end of this Year, our Au-
" thor might indeed expect what he pro-
" miſes himſelf, on the proſpect of ODE-
" NATUS's Succeſſes. He might then
" hope for the Reduction of the remain-
" ing part of *Arabia*, on his return from
" the *Perſians* into the *Orient*, which was
" not till the beginning of the next Year.
" Then he might promiſe his Children
" the hopes of ſeeing *Babylon* waſted,
" *Egypt* reduc'd, the *Perſians* enſlav'd,
" and the *Scythians* reſtrain'd from pro-
" ceeding further: which things were
" then only in a likely proſpect. Nor
" is it to be thought ſtrange, that the
" Actions of ODENATUS ſhould be aſ-
" crib'd to GALLIENUS, whilſt ODENA-
" TUS own'd the Cauſe, and acted under
" the Auſpices of GALLIENUS, and gave
" him a punctual account of what he
" did, as owning himſelf reſponſible to
" him. So GALLIENUS himſelf would
" have it underſtood, when he triumphed
" for theſe very Succeſſes of ODENATUS
" againſt the *Perſians*. That was ſuffi-
" cient to make our Author, and ſuch as
" flatter'd him, to aſcribe it to him. I do

" not know what Influence the Opinion " of NEPOS might have with the *Egyp-* " *tian* Chriſtians, concerning our Saviour's " Millenary Reign upon Earth, to diſpoſe " them to ominate ill things againſt the " *Roman* Empire, as that which was the " τὸ κατέχον mention'd by St. PAUL, as de- " laying the Diſcovery of Antichriſt, and " of Chriſt, who was to deſtroy Anti- " chriſt *with the Brightneſs of his coming.* " This, added to the freſh Reſentment " for the Perſecution of VALERIAN, " might make them favourable to ill Sur- " miſes concerning the *Romans.* It might " make our Author alſo ſo particularly " concern'd againſt the Book of the *Re-* " *velation*, not only in this Caſe, but in " his Jeſts upon *writing Names in the* " *Book of Life.* This is more likely to " have been alluded to by him, than the " like Paſſage of MOSES, which wou'd " have affected the *Alexandrian Jews* as " well as the Chriſtians; whereas in this " Book his whole Concern is againſt the " Chriſtians. That this Opinion of NE- " POS began to take in *Egypt* about " this time, we learn from this ſame DIO-

" NYSIUS. His Jeſts alſo upon Fate " argue later times than thoſe of Lu- " CIAN, as they relate to Judicial Aſtro- " logy. That Diſpute ſeems to have be- " gun about the time of ELAGABALUS. " You may ſee what I have ſaid to this " purpoſe concerning * BARDESANES. " You may, if you think fit, purſue this " *Epocha* of the *Scythians* Incurſions " lower; but I very much doubt whe- " ther you will any where find a more " ſeaſonable Period for the Concurrence " of the Events alluded to in this Book, " and the Order aſſign'd by the Author " to them. In CLAUDIUS's time, *E-* " *gypt* was got twice, and loſt once, by " ZENOBIA: He alſo did great things " againſt the *Scythians*, but nothing con- " ſiderable either againſt the *Perſians*, or " even ZENOBIA, in thoſe Dominions " which had been gain'd by her Husband " ODENATUS from the *Perſians*: Yet " ſhe did not own him, or any of the " *Roman* Emperors, as her Husband had " own'd GALLIENUS. That her Suc-

* Diſſ. iv. in Iren. § 35. c. vi. 11.

" ceſſes

" ceſſes might be aſcrib'd by Flatterers
" to any of her coæval Emperors, tho
" ſhe plac'd the ſtyle of Σεβαστη in her
" Coins, as hereditary from her Huſ-
" band, to whom it had been granted
" by GALLIENUS. But her Actions in
" *Egypt* were plainly in oppoſition to
" the *Roman* Empire, as well as her laſt
" War againſt AURELIAN. AURELIAN
" indeed overcame the other Nations here
" mention'd, and recover'd *Egypt*; but
" he gain'd no Victories againſt the *Per-*
" *ſians*, any otherwiſe than as they were
" the Auxiliaries of ZENOBIA. Both he
" and PROBUS, did indeed deſign a War
" againſt the *Perſians*, but were both of
" them murder'd before they cou'd execute
" it. The Reign of CARUS had no Revolt
" in *Egypt*, much leſs any that cou'd be
" in view after his War with the *Perſians*,
" in which he periſh'd. I have already
" given you Reaſons againſt your Hypo-
" theſis for the Reign of DIOCLESIAN;
" yet after him there was no Pagan Em-
" peror but JULIAN, who had War with
" the *Perſians*; but there was then no
" Defection of *Egypt*: not now to inſiſt

" on the other Notes. I did once ſuſ-
" pect that the Thunderbolts, which our
" Author mentions, as ſent againſt the
" δουλίσαι ἐν τῷ, might relate to the Caſe
" of CARUS for paſſing *Tigris*, which
" they took for the *fatalis terminus* pre-
" ſcrib'd by the Gods for the *Roman* Em-
" pire: But it might as well have re-
" garded the Caſe of MARCUS againſt
" the *Marcomanni*, by the Chriſtians
" aſcrib'd to themſelves, by the Heathens
" to JULIAN a Magician, or to the Piety
" of MARCUS. So great a Conſent there
" is concerning the Fact, tho the Cauſes
" be deliver'd differently, according to the
" different Intereſts of the Hiſtorians.
" This fits my former Hypotheſis, of the
" Time of SEVERUS, very well: nor
" will it be too antient for this of the
" Time of GALLIENUS, if we conſider
" the great Antiquity of the Fact of SAL-
" MONEUS (in the fabulous Times too
" antient for true Hiſtory) to which
" it is here oppos'd. Yet there might
" have been later Facts of freſher Me-
" mory, very well known then, which
" may have miſcarry'd for want of Au-
" thors in thoſe barren Times.

" THE

" THE Name of *Galilean* aſcrib'd to " St. PAUL, I look on as a Note of a " lower Time than that of LUCIAN: " As he was PAUL, a *Roman*, he was a " *Cilician* of *Tarſus*, a *Roman* Colony: " As he was SAUL, a *Jew*, he was of " the Tribe of *Benjamin*, not of *Ga-* " *lilee*: and his Sect, before his Conver- " ſion, was that of a *Phariſee*, not a " *Galilean*. He cou'd therefore mean " the Name of a *Galilean* in no other " Senſe than as it was us'd as equivalent " to that of a Chriſtian. In this Senſe, " the firſt Author that us'd it, whoſe " Time is certainly known, was, I think, " JULIAN the Apoſtate. Our Saviour " indeed, himſelf, is call'd a *Galilean*, St. " *Matth.* xxvi. 69. and therefore is ſaid " to belong to the Juriſdiction of HE- " ROD ANTIPAS, the Tetrarch of *Ga-* " *lilee*; that is, in regard of his being " an Inhabitant of *Nazareth* in *Galilee*. " As to his Deſcent, he was tax'd in " *Bethlehem*, of the Houſe and Lineage " of DAVID, however his being an In- " habitant in *Galilee*. His firſt Preach-

" ing was in *Galilee*, that he might ful-
" fil the Prophecy of ISAIAH, that *Ga-*
" *lilee* of the Gentiles ſhould ſee a great
" Light: And his firſt Miracle was at
" *Cana* of *Galilee*. By this it appears,
" that the firſt Converts of Chriſtianity
" were generally Inhabitants of *Galilee*.
" Thus therefore, they who charg'd St.
" PETER with being a Diſciple of our
" Saviour, prove their Charge from hence,
" That St. PETER himſelf was a *Ga-*
" *lilean*, and that his Speech betray'd him,
" as agreeing with the Inhabitants of *Ga-*
" *lilee*. And our Lord's Aſcenſion to
" Heaven was in * *Galilee*. Therefore
" the Angels call thoſe five hundred Diſ-
" ciples, who met there by his Appoint-
" ment to ſee him aſcend, *Men of* † Ga-
" lilee. And they who were aſſembled
" at *Pentecoſt*, when they receiv'd the
" Gift of the Spirit, and ſpoke with di-
" vers Tongues, are ſaid all to be ‡ *Ga-*

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* Matth. xxvi. 32. xxviii. 7, 10, 16. Mark xiv. 28. xvi. 7. Acts xiii. 31.

† ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, Acts i. 11.

‡ Acts ii. 7.

" *lileans*.

" *lileans*. And when NICODEMUS was " upbraided with his Favour to our Lord, " the *Jews* ask'd him, Whether he alſo " were of * *Galilee*? So then, but from " the time that the Name of *Chriſtian* " was firſt receiv'd at † *Antioch*, that is " the Name by which they are generally " ſtyl'd, not only by Chriſtians themſelves, " but by their Enemies alſo, who take " occaſion to mention them for ſome con- " ſiderable time after the Age of LUCIAN. " This might have been trac'd from many " Examples, if it were requiſite, and I " had Leiſure. It's ſufficient at preſent " to obſerve, That even LUCIAN him- " ſelf, as often as he vouchſafes to men- " tion our Anceſtors, never calls them " *Galileans* but Chriſtians: So he does " in his *Peregrinus* and *Pſeudomantis*. " Our Author, on the contrary, is the " firſt we know of who took up the new " Appellation of *Galileans*, and never uſes " the Name receiv'd in the Age of LU- " CIAN, tho he alludes to it it in the " Name of CHRESTUS, as the *Gentiles*

* John vii. 52. † Acts xi. 26.

" corrupted it, in the Age of LUCIAN " himſelf. The *Jews* themſelves, even " in the Apoſtles Age, had an ill Opinion " of *Galilee*, and of *Nazareth* for its " Situation in *Galilee*. So it appears from " the Queſtion of NATHANAEL, *Can any* " *good thing come out of* * Nazareth? So " again, from the *Jews* Expoſtulation with " NICODEMUS, *Search and look*; *for out* " *of* Galilee *ariſeth no* † *Prophet*. I ſhou'd " therefore have thought this new name " of Reproach to have been given our An- " ceſtors by the *Jews*, if it had any Evi- " dence of its being receiv'd near the Age " of the Apoſtles; but being ſo much " later, I confeſs my ſelf more inclinable " to believe it taken up by the inveterate " Heathens; and, if I miſtake not, with " a moſt diſingenuous Deſign of expoſing " their heroical Fortitude, as if it had " been no better than the Obſtinacy ſo " cenſur'd by Hiſtorians in the *Galilean* " Nation; and withal, of bringing their " Expectations of Chriſt, and a ſpeedy " end of the World, into a Suſpicion of

* John i. 47. † John vii. 52.

" the

" the Government; as if they had been
" as ill affected to it as the *Jewiſh* Sect,
" which had its Name of *Galileans* from
" JUDAS GALILEUS, who wou'd ra-
" ther chuſe a Death with Torments than
" they wou'd earn their Lives by owning
" the *Roman* Emperors for their Lords.
" This wicked Deſign, and this Invete-
" racy appears ſufficiently in this impious
" Author, under our preſent Conſidera-
" tion. His very Title of *Philopatris*
" ſhews a premeditated Project of raiſing
" the Paſſions of the Government then
" obtaining, and of all the Subjects of it,
" as they wou'd ſhow their Zeal for it,
" to extirpate a Sect ſo willing to fore-
" bode Miſchief, to what he calls their
" common Country, and ſo credulous of
" ill Omens to it. This fits a time of
" provoking Perſecutions, which might
" afford matter of Reſentment to ſo meek
" and patient a People, or might, at leaſt,
" prevail with others to believe ſuch Ca-
" lumnies againſt them who knew their
" Provocations, but were not conſcious
" of that Divine Grace which enabled
" them to bear thoſe Provocations with

" an

" an incredible Æquanimity. Withal, *it*
" fits a time wherein the Perſecution was
" not of the *Judices*, on old Edicts not
" yet repeal'd, but by new Imperial E-
" dicts. That makes our Author fall in-
" to ſuch *Encomiums* of the Emperor,
" on whoſe happy Succeſſes he ominates
" Happineſs to the next Generation.
" Theſe are alſo Notes of the Time. TER-
" TULLIAN reckons no Edicts for Per-
" ſecution from the time of DOMITIAN
" till his own of SEVERUS, under whom
" there was no Revolt of *Egypt*; nor
" were there any after him till the time
" of MAXIMINUS THRAX, who had no
" Action againſt the *Perſians*; nor had
" the *Scythians* then invaded the *Roman*
" Provinces.

" THIS may ſuffice, at preſent, as to
" your Diſpute concerning the time of
" this Author. More might have been
" added, if my own natural Slowneſs,
" with the Trouble of tranſcribing, and
" my other Studies, wou'd have permitted
" it. But I was loth to exerciſe your Pa-
" tience too long in expecting it. This
" may

" may ſuggeſt further Thoughts for im-
" proving your preſent Deſign; and I
" ſhall be glad if the Improvement may
" be ſuch as may give further Light, than
" what has yet been diſcover'd by the
" united Endeavours of learned Men up-
" on this Argument, as I hope it will.
" I wiſh you wou'd have given ſome In-
" ſtances of thoſe Barbarities in our Au-
" thor, which you think unworthy of
" LUCIAN. You may try whether he
" has us'd any of thoſe Phraſes which
" LUCIAN condemns in his *Solæciſta*, as
" my late excellent Friend, Profeſſor
" GRÆVIUS, has explain'd them. For
" my part, I think your Chronological
" Topick much the more convictive of
" the two. LUCIAN himſelf looks upon
" his own Deſign, of joining *Comedy* and
" *Dialogue*, as new: And it is plain that
" our Author imitates him, and does ac-
" tually take ſeveral Particulars from him.
" Terms of Art muſt not be taken for Bar-
" barities. What other Inſtances you can
" give, I ſhall then be better able to judge,
" when you ſhall be pleas'd to communi-
" cate your own Obſervations of that kind
" alſo.

" alſo. I hope you will gratify the Pub-
" lick with what you have diſcover'd, or
" ſhall diſcover, that is new, and may
" ſerve the common Cauſe of our Holy
" Religion. In doing ſo, you will oblige
" not only the Commonwealth of Learn-
" ing, but particularly Yours, *&c.*

Shottesbrook near *Maidenhead* in *Berkſhire*, *Decemb.* 4. 1706.

Henry Dodwell.

LETTER VII.

SIR, *Bake*, *Jan.* 6. 170$\frac{6}{7}$.

I HAVE receiv'd yours, with a Letter inclos'd from Mr. DODWELL: I muſt commend him for his Candor in renouncing his old Hypotheſis, which is a Generoſity Criticks are ſeldom guilty of. His Letter is written with an uncommon Depth of Thought and Reading, and contains great Variety of uſeful Obſervations on all ſorts of Learning. I am only ſorry to find that he has pitch'd on a new Hypotheſis, which is leſs tenable than his two former. 'Tis impoſſible to anſwer the ſeveral

veral Parts of his Diſſertation in the Compaſs of a Letter; and therefore I ſhall confine my ſelf to ſome general Remarks upon it.

HE ſays, That by CHLEUOCHARMUS and his nameleſs Friend, are meant ORIGEN and HERACLAS.

HE fixes the Date of the Dialogue to the 261ſt Year of Chriſt, in the 8th Year of GALLIENUS, the Year after ODENATUS's Victories over the *Perſians*.

IT is manifeſt from the whole Series of the *Philopatris*, that CRITIAS had his Conference with CHLEUOCHARMUS, and was alarm'd with the terrible Prophecies of the Chriſtians, that very Day on which the News arriv'd of the Victory over the *Perſians*, (which Mr. DODWELL fixes to the ſeventh of GALLIENUS) and conſequently CHLEUOCHARMUS and his Friend were living at that time: which plainly ſhews that ORIGEN and HERACLAS were not the Men whom our Author had in view; for ORIGEN dy'd in the firſt Year of GALLUS, nine or ten Years

Years before. Mr. DODWELL wou'd do well to reconcile this Contradiction.

HIS ſubtle Remarks upon the Etymology of ORIGEN's Name, (which he owns to be a falſe one, and which our Author, who was an *Alexandrian Greek*, knew as well as he) and on the numeral Letters of HERACLAS's Name, and the Conſequences he draws from both, are purely chimerical; and ſince they are offer'd without Proof or Probability, ſo let them reſt.

SHOULD I allow the Antiquity of the *Corona Sacerdotalis*, (which I am far from believing) there are ſeveral other diſtinguiſhing Marks in the Deſcription of CHLEUOCHARMUS and his Friend, which can never be apply'd to ORIGEN and HERACLAS, or any Order or Sect of Chriſtians except the *Egyptian* Hermits; as I ſhall prove at large in my Article of Monks, their Original, *&c.*

IN the next place, let us try whether the Notes of Time in the *Philopatris* will agree with the Victories of ODENATUS over

over the *Perſians*, and the Revolt of *Egypt*; in order to which, I ſhall premiſe theſe four *Poſtulatums*, which are ſo reaſonable, that every body muſt allow them.

1. THAT the Scene of the *Philopatris* lies in *Egypt*, and all the Perſons of the Dialogue are *Egyptians*. This Mr. DODWELL owns.

2. THAT this Dialogue is ſuppos'd to be held upon the firſt News of a great Victory over the *Perſians*.

3. THAT it was really compos'd and publiſh'd about the ſame time; becauſe ſuch Muſhroom Pamphlets which are calculated for a preſent Juncture and turn of Affairs, wou'd be ſtale and unſeaſonable when they had loſt the Grace of Novelty, by appearing abroad when the Subjects of them were no longer recent and freſh in every body's memory.

4. SHOU'D I allow it to have been written ſome time after, yet nevertheleſs, when

when the Author had once fix'd the Date of the feign'd Dialogue, by ſo remarkable a Circumſtance as the News of the *Perſian* Victory, he was no longer at liberty to inſert any thing of a freſher Date without a manifeſt Abſurdity, and a breach of all the Rules of good Writing—*Sibi convenientia finge*; and *ficta—proxima veris*, is HORACE's Precept. Therefore, to apply this Rule, CRITIAS and TRIEPHON cannot be ſuppos'd to mention any Event which happen'd after the News of the *Perſian* Victory. Having premis'd theſe Conſiderations, I ſhall proceed.

Mr. *DODWELL* fixes the Date of ODENATUS's Victories to the 260th Year of Chriſt, and the Dialogue to the Year following. But how comes it to paſs that there is a Year's difference between their Dates? Was the News of the Victory a Year a coming? A Courier in THEODOSIUS IId's time, brought him the News of a Victory from the *Perſian* Borders to *Conſtantinople* in three Days * time; and does

* Socrat. l. vii. c. 18.

not

not *Egypt* lie much nearer? Shou'd we grant this Victory to be won in *December* 260, (which is improbable, becauſe the *Perſians* always declin'd fighting, and never kept the Field in the * Winter) 'tis ſtill every whit as incredible, that the news of it ſhou'd not come to *Egypt* till the next Summer; for at that time was the Dialogue held, as appears by the chirping of the Swallows, and the great heat of the Weather, which are both taken notice of in the *Philopatris*. All this contradicts my ſecond *Poſtulatum*.

BUT there ſtill remains a much weightier Objection behind. If the Dialogue was written in the eighth Year of GALLIENUS, why is there mention made in it of the Revolt of *Egypt*, (which Mr. DODWELL ſuppoſes to have been headed by ÆMILIANUS) that did not break out till the Year after? This contradicts my fourth *Poſtulatum*. 'Tis very plain from the Letter of DIONYSIUS to † HER-

* Socrat. l. iii. c. 18.

† Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. vii. c. 23.

MAMMON, that *Egypt* was ſubject to GALLIENUS in his ninth Year: and 'tis as evident from * TREBELLIUS POLLIO, that *Egypt* was in actual Rebellion under ÆMILIAN in the tenth Year; which ſhows that his Uſurpation began between the beginning of the ninth and tenth Year of GALLIENUS. This, I ſay, may be plainly prov'd from this Paſſage of TREBELLIUS POLLIO, where he writes that GALLIENUS having obtain'd ſome trifling Advantage, reſolv'd to celebrate his *Decennia*, that is, his entrance upon the tenth Year of his Reign, with great Magnificence. In order to this, and the better to poſſeſs the People with an Opinion of his Victories, he enters *Rome* like a Conqueror, with ſome hundreds of Captives of different Nations, marching behind his Chariot. But the *Romans*, ſays my Author, diſcern'd the Artifice, and ridicul'd his Mock-Triumph; and then he adds theſe remarkable Words, *Sed, ut ſunt Romanorum facetiæ, alius Poſthumio favebat——alius Æmiliano, alius Saturnino,*

* In Gallien. c. 7, 8, 9.

nam

nam & ipſe jam imperare dicebatur. Does not this Place clearly prove that ÆMILIAN was Maſter of *Egypt* in the tenth Year of GALLIENUS? From all this, it plainly appears that *Egypt* did not revolt till about the end of the ninth Year of GALLIENUS, and conſequently the Dialogue cou'd not be written the Year before. Theſe are my preſent Thoughts upon this Article: but out of reſpect to Biſhop PEARSON's Account, I ſhall ſuſpend my Opinion till I have conſulted his *Ann. Cyprianici*, which I expect to day.

Mr. *DODWELL* ſuppoſes that the Victories mention'd by TRIEPHON are to be underſtood of the time to come, not of the time paſt: from whence 'twill follow, that *Egypt*, when this Dialogue was held, was in actual Rebellion; for 'twou'd have been an arrant Jeſt to have hop'd for the Reduction of an obedient Province. So that if I can prove that *Egypt* was then ſubject to the Emperor, his whole Hypotheſis falls to the ground of courſe. This may be eaſily demonſtrated (allowing my firſt *Poſtulatum*) from

half a ſcore of Paſſages in the Dialogue: But I ſhall content my ſelf with one, becauſe 'tis expreſs and unanſwerable. After CRITIAS and CLEOLAUS have finiſh'd their Encomium of the Emperor then reigning, TRIEPHON cloſes all with this remarkable Expreſſion, "We will return "Thanks, *ſays he*, to the unknown God "for vouchſafing us the Honour of being "Subjects to ſuch an Emperor." Mr. DODWELL is a very unreaſonable Man, if this Teſtimony will not ſatisfy him. This Argument may be ſtill carry'd further; for if *Egypt* had not revolted when this Dialogue was written, 'tis an invincible Proof for the Reaſon juſt now alledg'd, that TRIEPHON's Victories were already won, and not in a Proſpect of being obtain'd hereafter, as Mr. DODWELL imagines: and then, I am ſure, they can be fix'd to no other Period but the Reign of DIOCLESIAN.

BUT ſhou'd I allow, for Argument's ſake, that theſe Victories were ſtill in Embryo, and reſerv'd for the next Age, yet this can never be applicable to the Caſe of

of GALLIENUS, unleſs Mr. DODWELL can prove that theſe Victories alone wou'd have reſtor'd the Quiet of the Empire, and enſur'd the Proſperity of the Age to come: But that he can never do, for GALLIENUS had many other Enemies to deal with beſides theſe; half the Empire being then in actual Rebellion againſt him. Was not POSTHUMIUS at that time Maſter of *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, and AUREOLUS of *Illyricum*? Were not BALISTA and QUIETUS ſtill powerful in the *Eaſt*, not to name ſeveral other Uſurpers then in Arms againſt the Emperor? And without the Reduction of all theſe Provinces, was there any ground to expect a flouriſhing Settlement for the preſent or following Age? So unfortunate has Mr. DODWELL been in the choice of his Hypotheſis: if I deny his Suppoſitions, 'tis impoſſible for him to prove them; if I give him all he asks, it ſtill turns upon him.

THE Diſaffection of the Chriſtians to the Government, is a Circumſtance never to be reconcil'd to the Reign of GAL-

LIENUS. 'Tis well known that he was no Perſecutor, that he had recall'd the bloody Edicts of his Father, and had reſtor'd them to the free exerciſe of their Religion; ſo that the Chriſtians had all imaginable Reaſon to be well ſatisfy'd with him, as indeed they were, and the *Egyptian* Chriſtians in particular. For this we have a Teſtimony beyond Exception in the Paſchal Letter of DIONYSIUS, who was then Biſhop of *Alexandria*. See there what Encomiums he beſtows on the Emperor GALLIENUS: And can any one imagine that the reſt of the *Egyptian* Chriſtians differ'd from their Biſhop, in their Sentiments of the Emperor and his Government?

THE *Roman* Empire, in this Dialogue, is repreſented to be in a flouriſhing and proſperous Condition. How go the Affairs of the Empire, ſay the Chriſtians? χαίρουσι πάντες, is the Anſwer. A little lower they propheſy of great Alterations in the Government, and that the Empire ſhou'd be imbroil'd with civil Diſtractions; which is a good Proof that it was then free from them.

them. To the ſame purpoſe are divers other Paſſages, eſpecially at the cloſe of the Dialogue, all plainly intimating the preſent Proſperity and Tranquillity of the Empire: which is a note of Time that can never agree to the Age of that unfortunate Prince, whoſe whole Reign was one continu'd Scene of domeſtick Rebellions and foreign Invaſions, and both theſe attended with ſuch uncommon Calamities of Plagues, Deluges, Earthquakes, *&c.* as never met together in any former Reign; and left the People no room to flatter themſelves with a diſtant Proſpect of an happy Settlement for themſelves or Children under * GALLIENUS. And indeed the Empire was reduc'd to that paſs, that nothing but the matchleſs Virtue of his two gallant Succeſſors, CLAUDIUS and AURELIAN, cou'd have reſcu'd it from Ruin.

I HAD gone thus far in my Letter, when the *Ann. Cyprianici* of Biſhop PEARSON were brought me. I am extremely

* Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. c. 5.

ſurpriz'd to find how ſtrangely Mr. DODWELL has miſquoted them. The Biſhop's dexterous Explication of DIONYSIUS's Letter to HERMAMMON is a flat Contradiction to every Syllable that Mr. DODWELL has ſaid concerning the Year of ÆMILIAN's Revolt in *Egypt*, and agrees very well with my Account, as you may ſee if you pleaſe to conſult the * *Ann. Cyprianici.*

I SHALL ſay nothing of his aſcribing to GALLIENUS the Victories of ODENATUS, who ſeems to have own'd him only in Mockery and Deriſion †; nor of ODENATUS's Conqueſt of *Arabia*, which he aſſerts without Proof, and againſt all Probability. I am very much miſtaken in the Nature and Force of the Arguments already urg'd, if I have not ſaid enough to prove his Hypotheſis inconſiſtent with it ſelf.

MUCH more might be added concerning his Notes of Time, which prove

* P. 71, 72. † Treb. Poll. in Gall. c. 10.

the

the Dialogue to be later than LUCIAN. But these being all in favour of my own Hypothesis, it will look ill-natur'd to dispute against them, tho I intend to make use of none of them, (except the *Scythian* Incursion, which was my own before) for fear of spoiling a good Cause by calling in bad Witnesses. I find all of them already in my Collections, and rejected as insufficient, except two or three, which I dare swear I should never have thought of.

I CANNOT conclude this Letter, without making a Remark or two more upon Mr. DODWELL's Dissertation.

HE lays great Stress on the Christians being styl'd *Galileans* in the *Philopatris*, as a Note of a lower Age than LUCIAN's. But sure he has forgot that in his Dissertation *De fortitudine* * *Martyrum*, he had asserted that CELSUS, LUCIAN's Contemporary, had call'd them *Galileans*. To which I may add * SUIDAS, who expresly affirms that the Primitive Christians were all

* C. 2. † In Ναζαραῖοι & χριστιανοί.

call'd

call'd *Nazarenes* and *Galileans*, till they were new nam'd at *Antioch* *.

IN the next place, I shou'd be glad to know why Mr. DODWELL makes CRATO an Usurer. He was by Birth an † *Alexandrian*, and by Imployment *Peræquator* of *Egypt*, (ἐξισωτης.) Nor can I divine from what Passage Mr. DODWELL infers that he was an Usurer, unless it be from the following Words, οὗτος ὡς προεῖπον, &c. But οὗτος does not refer to CRATO, but the *Messias*. 'Tis his own ‡ Conjecture, and I think a very happy one.

THE *Solœcista* is not LUCIAN's, as I shall shew in my Article of LUCIAN's Age: But there are several Phrases in the *Philopatris* which are condemn'd in the *Rhetorum Præceptor*, and *Lexiphanes*, both which are undoubtedly his.

HIS first Objection against my Hypothesis is grounded on a Mistake, for I sup-

* Vid. Arrian. in Epictet. lib. iv. c. 7. Malela, p. 356.
† Πολιτικός. See Sozomen. lib. iii. c. 14.
‡ In his Dissert. De pauc. Mart. c. 42.

pose

poſe the *Perſian* Victory to have been won, not in the 302d but the 297th Year of Chriſt, the Year after the Reduction of *Egypt*; and that very Year were the firſt ſteps made to that bloody Perſecution which broke out ſeveral Years after: So that the Chriſtians had good Reaſon at that time to be diſſatisfy'd with DIOCLESIAN's Government; which is a ſufficient Anſwer to his ſecond Objection.

I HAVE taken ſome Pains to adjuſt the Age of LUCIAN; and from ſome Notes of Time which are preſerv'd in his Works, I have fix'd the 40th Year of his Age to the 164th Year of Chriſt, and the 4th of M. ANTONINUS; and conſequently his Birth to the 124th Year of Chriſt, and the 8th of ADRIAN. I ſhou'd be glad to know how this Account agrees with Mr. DODWELL's Diſſertation upon ISIDORUS CHARACENUS, printed in the ſecond Tome of Mr. HUDSON's Geographers. It came out after I left *London*, ſo I never heard of it till now. If you can get it in *Exeter*, you wou'd oblige me by ſending it to me by C. KENDALL.

I

I AM oblig'd to you for conſulting Mr. DODWELL, and communicating his Letter to me; which contains, I ſuppoſe, all that he can ſay upon this Subject: And therefore I deſire you not to ſend him my Anſwer, becauſe I am unwilling that my Arguments ſhou'd be made publick before the Diſſertation appears abroad. I intend to inſcribe it to Dr. BENTLEY, who ſhall peruſe it in Manuſcript. I am now digeſting my Materials into order, but ſhall delay the writing part till next *April*.

I am, Sir, &c.

WHEN you have read this Letter over, and conſider'd it, pray do me the favour to return it, with your Thoughts of it; for I have kept no Copy of it.

LET-

LETTERS

From and To

Mr. *MOYLE*,

UPON

Various Subjects.

LETTERS
UPON
Various Subjects.

To Mr. K——.

SIR, *March* 10. 172½.

I WAS extremely well pleas'd, after ſo many Years ſilence, to ſee a Letter from an old Friend, and ſo valuable a Man on all accounts as your ſelf, and for whom I had always ſo particular a Regard. I won't enter into the diſpute who wrote the laſt Letter:

Letter: Be that as it will, I am ſure 'tis to you I am oblig'd for renewing our old Correſpondence, and I give you my hearty Thanks for it.

I WAS really ſurpriz'd to ſee you propoſe ſuch a Queſtion to one who is no Divine, much leſs a Prophet. But ſince you expect an Anſwer, all I can ſay, is, that theſe *North-Lights* portend no Good or Hurt to the World. Nothing has been more common, at all times, in the *Northern* Parts of *Europe*, than this Phænomenon; and why, for ſo many Ages, it ſhou'd be a harmleſs Meteor, and juſt at this time paſs for a Prognoſtick of the laſt Conflagration, I am at a loſs to apprehend. We have Examples in our Hiſtories of theſe Meteors having been obſerv'd formerly in *England*, but indeed they have been more frequent of late Years; which, in my opinion, is purely owing to the Irregularity of our Seaſons, which have chang'd the Temperature of the Air, and diſpos'd it to produce ſuch Appearances. If it wou'd not be venturing out of my depth, I wou'd ask the grave Divine you mention what

warrant he has for this Conceit from Scripture, where we are told more than once, that *the day of the Lord ſhall come as a Thief*; that is, without giving any Warning at all. Nor can there be the leaſt Pretence from Reaſon, to fancy that an *Aurora Borealis* ſhou'd be the Forerunner and Token of the general Conflagration: much leſs can I imagine any Perſon ſo ſilly as to ſuppoſe it can be the Cauſe of it. The World is in no more danger of being fir'd by a *North-Light*, than our Woods and Houſes are in danger of being burnt by a *Jack* with a Lanthorn, or any other *Ignis fatuus*. This Light is no other than an *Ignis fatuus* in the Sky: and tho I don't deny but the Vapours and Exhalations which produce it, may be the ſame with the Seeds of Thunder and Lightning; yet being in an imperfect State, and for want of Heat not thorowly fomented and ripen'd, they want Force to produce any violent Effects, but ſpend themſelves in harmleſs lambent Flames, give Light without Heat, and make Exploſions without Noiſe. In a word, I take this Meteor to be a

—Levius fulmen, cui dextra Cyclopum
Sævitiæ flammæq; minus, minus addidit
iræ.

I AM ſo far from approving your Divine's Opinion, that I think him guilty of great Raſhneſs and Preſumption, in pretending to foretel the Day and Hour, which is unknown to the *Son himſelf*. I might tell him, that a ſuperſtitious Obſervation of Signs in the Heavens is condemn'd in the Old Teſtament, and conſider'd as a Rag of Heatheniſm, and a kind of Idolatry. I might urge another Argument againſt him from the current Opinion of Divines, who ſeem to be all agreed that *Antichriſt* muſt be deſtroy'd, the *Jews* call'd, the Heathen converted, and many other Changes made before the great day of Reckoning comes. Upon the whole matter, I am apt to think that the Brains of this Divine are as full of Vapours as the Air has been of late, and that they have produc'd the ſame Effect in his Head, *viz.* New Light, and ſet him a propheſying. But certainly his Time might be much

better

better ſpent in rebuking Sin, and reforming his Hearers, than in amuſing them with his Dreams and Viſions.

THO I can't help laughing at this whimſical Conceit, yet I aſſure you I am far from thinking that the Works of Nature, eſpecially theſe uncommon Appearances, ought to be made the Subject of Raillery and Ridicule. They ſhou'd be all look'd on with Wonder and Admiration, and raiſe in us a due Reverence and Eſteem for their great Author, who has ſhewn his Almighty Power and Wiſdom in forming ſuch an infinite Variety of Productions in all Parts of the Univerſe. This is the only ſober Uſe can be made of theſe unuſual Phænomena. But for that, and every thing elſe that relates to this Meteor, I refer you to Mr. WHISTON's Account of the ſurprizing Meteor which appear'd *A. D.* $17\frac{11}{12}$, where he has handled this whole Subject as an Hiſtorian, Philoſopher, and Divine; and, allowing for ſome few *Quixotiſms*, which he can't help, the Performance is not ill. The 6th of *February* laſt, I had a fair view of an

Aurora Borealis, for above an Hour: It agreed very well with Mr. WHISTON's Deſcription. I never ſaw any thing ſo ſurprizing.

SINCE you have ſent me a Queſtion intirely out of my way, give me leave, in return, to propoſe another to you, which is intirely in your way: What is your Opinion of Dr. BENTLEY's Propoſals for printing a new Edition of the *Greek* and *Latin* Teſtament? What think you of his Deſign of publiſhing a new Text? Is there any real ground for the Clamors rais'd againſt it? and ought we indeed to believe that any Variation from R. STEPHENS's Edition wou'd be deſtroying the Rule of Faith, and blowing up Chriſtianity? I would gladly have your Sentiments upon this Subject. I am, Sir, *&c.*

W. MOYLE.

Mr.

Mr. *K*——'s Anſwer to Mr. MOYLE.

SIR, Topſham, April 3. 1721.

I HAVE been ſome time abſent from home, ſince I receiv'd yours of the 10th *of* March, *or elſe ſhou'd have ſooner acknowledg'd the great Favour; for nothing cou'd be more grateful to me than a Letter from ſo worthy a Friend, and nothing more ſatisfactory than what you wrote concerning the Appearances in the Air, which I ask'd your Opinion of; and that more eſpecially, becauſe it confirm'd me in my own as to ſome of them, particularly that of* February 6, *which I had the good Fortune to ſee a pretty while together, as you did; which was a plain* Aurora Borealis, *and nothing more, and not ſo very ſurprizing here as you ſay it was with you, nor any thing comparable to that over* Edinburgh $17\frac{11}{12}$, *related by Mr.* WHISTON, *as you mention; which was ſo dreadful, as he ſays, that the People fear'd that the laſt Conflagration was begun, and which, after all the Conjectures about it,*

he thought was ſomething preternatural, and that it ſeem'd to be a Congladiation of Angels; which, I ſuppoſe, you judge to be one of his Quixotiſms; *and alſo that Fancy of his about that Globe of Fire which was ſeen in thoſe Parts* March *was two Years, and went off with a great Noiſe; which, ſaid he, wou'd probably have burnt* Exeter, *had it been ſomething lower in the Air. It was indeed ſo ſurprizing here, that ſome of my People were much affrighted, as if dreadful things wou'd enſue. I compos'd their Fears by telling them (much the ſame you ſay) that it was a Meteor, or ſome Vapours kindled in the Air, which ſeem'd to betoken great Drought; as it after happen'd, the Summer being very dry: So far am I from that Divine's Opinion, which I mention'd to you, that theſe Lights in the Air are Foretokens of the general Conflagration and Day of Judgment. Yet that there will be fearful Sights and great Signs in the Heavens I believe, becauſe our Saviour has ſaid it will be ſo before that Day comes: And I believe alſo there will be great falling away*

away or Apoſtacy from Chriſtianity, becauſe St. PAUL *has ſaid it. And farther, I believe (as you ſay ſome Divines do) that Antichriſt, or that Man of Sin, as the ſame Apoſtle calls him, will be deſtroy'd, the* Jews *call'd, and the Heathen converted, before that Day.*

I HEARTILY join in your excellent Concluſion, and to which I'll add this ſhort Prayer. The good God grant, that theſe unuſual (tho natural) Appearances in this Land, may teach the Inhabitants thereof to fear their great Author, and to practiſe Righteouſneſs.

I HAVE not yet read Dr. BENTLEY's *Propoſals, the Reflections on them, and his Anſwer, but hope to have them in a ſhort time: till then you will excuſe me, doubtleſs, from giving my Opinion of them. I am, Sir,* &c.

Mr. NAYLOR's Letter to Mr. MOYLE.

Honour'd Sir,

——*I AM of your Opinion, (I take it you think ſo) that the Chriſtians had no Churches before the third Century:* CÆCILIUS *objects the want of them to* OCTAVIUS, *in* MINUTIUS FELIX; *and* OUZELIUS *has a large Note on the Place in confirmation of it. However, I think that they ſoon after began to erect Churches; for in the latter end of that Century, or the beginning of the fourth, I find by* * EUSEBIUS, *that* DIOCLESIAN *publiſh'd an Edict to pull them down to the Ground; which ſeems to imply that there were numbers of them then built. This I judge to be the Truth of the caſe; however, I can ſhew you the Figure of one much antienter, built here in* England, *as 'tis ſaid, by* JOSEPH *of* Arimathea *and his Companions.*——An ordinary Fabrick,

* Lib. viii. c. 2.

without

without Stone or a Brick, *according to* HUDIBRAS. *The Figure is in Sir* HENRY SPELMAN's Concilia Pambritannica, *&c.* p. 11. *which I ſuppoſe you may have ſeen. Mr.* FULLER, *in his* Miſcellanea Sacra, *is of opinion that there were Churches in the Apoſtles time, and ſo interprets the Word* ἐκκλησίας, *in* 1 Cor. xi. 22. SPANHEIM, *in his* Dubia Evangelia, *differs from him. Mr.* FULLER's *Diſſertation is well worth reading, and therefore I have ſent you the Book, if you pleaſe to peruſe it. I think, after all, the Diſpute may be reconcil'd by allowing the firſt Chriſtians ſome few mean built Oratories; for certainly they had no ſtately magnificent Churches; 'twas a thing too invidious: I fancy the Heathen, at that time, wou'd not have ſuffer'd it.*

I am, Sir, &c.

St. Martins, Nov. 2. 1711.

Mr.

Mr. MOYLE's *Anſwer.*

SIR,

YOUR Letter about the Original and Antiquity of Churches, has given me the Curioſity to make ſome little Search into that matter. I ſend you, in return, my own Thoughts on that Subject; which, I hope, you'll conſider as the Reſult of a haſty Inquiry; for I dare not pronounce deciſively, without a nicer Examination of the Argument.

BY a Church I mean a Houſe peculiarly conſecrated to God Almighty, and ſet apart for his publick Worſhip, and not imploy'd to a profane uſe. I am inclin'd to believe there were no ſuch Churches in the Apoſtles time, nor till after the middle of the third Century.

*BARONIUS**, and †FULLER, who are the Advocates for the contrary Opi-

* Ad annum lvii. n. 30.

† Nic. Fuller Miſcel. Sacra, l. ii. c. 9.

nion,

nion, alledge, in defence of their Hypotheſis, that Text, 1 *Cor.* xi. 22. where the Word ἐκκλησίας, as they pretend, ſignifies a Church: and FULLER pretends the Antitheſis is loſt, if you explain the Word in any other Senſe. But by his leave the Senſe is every whit as good, if we ſuppoſe the Oppoſition to lie between eating in private at home, and eating in publick at the general Aſſembly. The Intention of the Apoſtle is to reprove the Rich, who brought their own Suppers with them, for eating and drinking to Exceſs in their *Agapæ*; while the Poor, who had no Proviſions to bring, faſted. "Do you do "this in contempt of the Congregation of "God, and to ſhame thoſe who have no-"thing of their own to eat?" Theſe laſt Words ſeem abſolutely to determine the Senſe in favour of my Opinion: and ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ſeems plainly to import the Aſſembly of the Chriſtians, and not the Place they met in; of which you may find Examples enough in the New Teſtament: but none in the former.

FULLER's next Argument is taken from St. JAMES, *chap.* ii. *v.* 2. where he ſays the Word συναγωγὴ ſignifies *a Church.* But certainly our Tranſlation has rightly render'd it *Aſſembly*; for which there are Authorities enough in EUSEBIUS and elſewhere: but I believe not one Inſtance can be brought in all Antiquity that ever the Word was us'd for a Chriſtian Church. You may conſult the Criticks upon theſe Texts, for I have no Commentary on the New Teſtament by me.

BUT ſhou'd I allow (which I am far from believing) that theſe Words ſignify'd the Place where the Chriſtians held their Aſſemblies, will it follow that theſe Places were ſuch Churches as I have deſcrib'd? The contrary manifeſtly appears from many Paſſages, which plainly ſhow that our Saviour and the Apoſtles held their Meetings in the upper Rooms of private Houſes; of theſe we have an Inſtance in *Mark* xiv. 15. and in *Luke* xxii. 12. where the Room is ſtyl'd ἀνάγαιον. And after our Saviour's Aſcenſion the Apoſtles continu'd to hold

their Meetings in the ſame Places, of which we have an Example *Acts* i. 13. ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῷον, and others, *Acts* ix. 39. xx. 8, 9. And 'tis plain from *Acts* ii. 46. that they adminiſter'd the Sacrament in private Houſes, κατ' οἶκον, that is, either at home, or from Houſe to Houſe. Theſe ἀνάγαια or ὑπερῶα, as Mr. GREGRORY, to whom I owe theſe Remarks (*c.* 3.) obſerves, were nothing elſe but the private Oratories of the *Jews* in the upper Rooms of their Houſes: And, in imitation of their Example, the primitive Chriſtians held their religious Meetings in the ſame Places. Nor was the Practice of the Apoſtles in the Infancy of Chriſtianity diſcontinu'd long after, as we know from St. PAUL's Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which was written in the fourth Year of NERO. See *Rom.* xvi. 5. and 1 *Cor.* xvi. 19. where he greets the Church at the Houſe of AQUILA and PRISCILLA; that is, the Church that us'd to meet there, which Mr. GREGORY has not taken notice of. From theſe numerous Inſtances I think it very reaſonable to conclude, that the Chriſtians had no publick Churches in the Days of the Apoſtles,

poſtles, but that all their Aſſemblies were held in private Houſes.

AS to the other Point, that the Chriſtians had no Churches till after the middle of the third Century: before I produce my own, I ſhall examine BARONIUS's Arguments to the contrary. His Teſtimonies from IGNATIUS are not extant in the genuine Epiſtles; and I won't be at the Pains of conſulting either the ſpurious or the interpolated Epiſtles, becauſe their Authority is not worth minding: and his Arguments from the *Martyrologies*, which are all modern Forgeries, are of juſt the ſame weight. I can ſay little to his Proofs from TERTULLIAN, becauſe I have not the Book by me: but having formerly read moſt of the Treatiſes he refers to, I am of opinion, that the utmoſt he can pretend to prove from theſe Paſſages, is, that the Place where the Chriſtians held their Aſſemblies was then call'd *Eccleſia*: which ſhou'd I grant him, tho I do not, wou'd do no Service to his Cauſe, as I have already obſerv'd.

HIS

HIS next Witneſs is the *Philopatris* of LUCIAN, who flouriſh'd, as he pretends, under TRAJAN; in which he has Biſhop BEVERIDGE for his Second, who has blindly copy'd this Argument from him, in his Defence of the Apoſtolical Canons, *p.* 112. But there is a ſtrange Complication of Miſtakes in this Argument. In the firſt place, TRAJAN was dead many Years before LUCIAN was born, as Mr. DODWELL has fully prov'd in his Diſſertation upon ISIDORUS CHARACENUS, (*c.* 5.) In the next place, LUCIAN was not the Author of the *Philopatris*, as the Criticks are now for the moſt part agreed. Mr. DODWELL indeed once thought that LUCIAN wrote it under M. ANTONINUS, as you may ſee in his *Cyprianical* Diſſertations, *de Paucitate Martyrum*, *de Fortitudine Martyrum*. But in his *Oxford* Lectures, and his Diſcourſe upon ISIDORUS CHARACENUS, he ſuppoſes that LUCIAN wrote it under the Reign of SEVERUS. About five Years ſince I wrote a Letter to Mr. *K*——, to prove that LUCIAN was not the Author of that Dialogue,

logue, and that 'twas written long after, under DIOCLESIAN. He ſent my Letter to Mr. DODWELL, who return'd a very long Anſwer to it, which you ſhall ſee whenever you pleaſe. He denies it to be ſo late as DIOCLESIAN, but yields the main Point, and confeſſes that 'twas written long after LUCIAN's Death, and fixes the Date of it to the 261ſt or 262d Year of Chriſt, under GALLIENUS; which falls lower than the Period to which I have confin'd my Argument on this Subject. But there's a worſe Fault in the Argument than all this; for there is no ſuch Church deſcrib'd in the *Philopatris* as they pretend: as will eaſily appear by taking a ſhort view of the latter part of the Dialogue. CRITIAS, who is the principal Perſon of the Farce, tells TRIEPHON, that as he was walking in the Highway (λεωφόρῳ) he ſaw a good number of Chriſtians gather'd together: and gives a ridiculous Relation of a Speech or Sermon, that was made by one of their Prieſts. This Aſſembly, as is plain from the whole Narration, was held in a Place open to publick View, and not in a Houſe. I am inclin'd to believe 'twas in a Cemetery,

tery, which lay near the Highway, as you may ſee in the *Roma Subterranea*; and where the Chriſtians frequently held their Meetings, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter. Nor do BARONIUS or Biſhop BEVERIDGE pretend that 'twas a Church. CRITIAS adds, that he was prevail'd on by one of the Company, whom he knew, to go to a Houſe, where he met ſome of their Doctors, in order to be inſtructed in the Principles of Chriſtianity, (μυσαγωγήσω σε, i. e. *Catechizabo te*, vid. *Valeſium ad Sozomenum*, lib. viii. c. 18.) So that CRITIAS was to be enter'd as a *Catechumen*. He goes on to make a pompous Deſcription of the Houſe, which is a Parody from HOMER, *Iliad*: viii. *v.* 15. and the *Odyſſ*: *lib.* iv. *v.* 74. and is all purely ironical, (tho the Biſhop thinks him in earneſt) and to ridicule the Meanneſs of the Room; as plainly appears from what goes before: For he ſays, that they aſcended up to it by a long winding Stair-Caſe. Did ever any Man hear of ſuch a Palace in a Garret? Beſides, he deſcribes the whole Aſſembly as a Company of Beggars, who were not likely to be Owners of ſuch a

magnificent Building. But there is another Reaſon which demonſtrates that it cou'd not be a Church, as BARONIUS and the Biſhop ſuppoſe; for, he ſays, there was a Bed in the Room. Did ever any body hear of a Bed in the Chriſtian Churches? This makes me believe it to be a *Triclinium*, or *Cœnaculum*, in the upper Story of the Houſe, which were the uſual Dining-Rooms of the meaner ſort of People. Upon the whole, I take the Room deſcrib'd by CRITIAS to be no other than the Catechiſtical-School of *Alexandria*, (where, as Mr. DODWELL agrees with me, the Scene of the Dialogue lies) which was not kept in a Church, but in a private Houſe; as VALESIUS very rightly obſerves in the caſe of ORIGEN, *(ad Euſeb.* lib. vi. c. 19.)

THE laſt Argument of BARONIUS is drawn from a Paſſage in LAMPRIDIUS's Life of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, (*c.* xlix.) But I can't believe that this Paſſage relates to a Church, as he ſuppoſes; for then it wou'd have been ſtyl'd *domum*, *templum*, or *ædificium*, or the like, and not *quendam*

dam locum : for which Reaſon I am apt to believe 'twas only a Cemetery, where the Chriſtians frequently held their religious Aſſemblies, as we know from EUSEBIUS, *lib.* vii. 11. *lib.* ix. 1, 2. The reſt of BARONIUS and FULLER's Teſtimonies being all of a later Date than the middle of the third Century, do not contradict my Hypotheſis.

I SHALL now begin with my own Arguments. In the firſt place, ſuch Churches as I have deſcrib'd, were not agreeable to the Poverty and Simplicity of thoſe Times, nor with the Perſecutions, which came ſo thick one upon the neck of another, and which the Church almoſt conſtantly labour'd under from NERO to near the end of the ſecond Century. Such Buildings, as you very well obſerve, wou'd have been too invidious, and have too much expos'd them to their Malice who were ready to take all Advantages againſt them: To which I may add, the Silence of all the Writers of thoſe Ages. And 'tis very remarkable, that in the firſt eight Perſecutions, there is not one Inſtance to be produc'd that their Churches were ever

ſeiz'd on or deſtroy'd by the Government; tho after that Period, in which every body allows the Chriſtians had Churches, in all the following Perſecutions, the firſt Storm was ſure to fall on their Churches. They were demoliſh'd by DIOCLESIAN, as we are told by EUSEBIUS, *lib.* viii. *c.* 2. *Lactant. de morte Perſecut.* c. xii. The ſame happen'd under the Perſecution rais'd by LICINIUS, *Euſeb. de vita Conſtant.* lib. ii. c. 5. And JULIAN, tho he did not deſtroy 'em, yet ſtript 'em of their Ornaments, *Sozom.* l. v. c. 5. As a further Proof of this matter, we know from EUSEBIUS, *lib.* vii. *c.* 11. that the Chriſtian Cemeteries were ſeiz'd on by VALERIAN; but he makes no mention of their Churches: Nor does GALLIENUS in his Edict for the Reſtitution of their Cemeteries ſay a word of returning them their Churches, *Euſeb.* lib. vii. c. 13. which ſhews they were not ſeiz'd. Now, will any man believe, ſince their Cemeteries were ſeiz'd on by the Government, that their Churches, if they had any, wou'd have eſcap'd? Whoever reads the Epiſtle of BARNABAS, *p.* 48, 49. (which, tho a Forgery, was writ before the end of the ſecond Century, becauſe 'tis cited

cited by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS in the beginning of the third) will be apt to think the Christians had no Churches at that time (with ABp LAUD.) COECILIUS, as you rightly observe, objects the want of them to the Christians in his time; which Charge is own'd by OCTAVIUS in his Reply. MINUTIUS wrote, as the Criticks generally suppose, under SEVERUS: tho I am inclin'd to be of Mr. DODWELL's Opinion, that 'twas under M. ANTONINUS; because all the Characters of Time in his Apology are most agreeable to that Reign. CELSUS, who wrote at the same time, makes the same Objection, and distinguishing Note, (*lib.* viii. *p.* 389.) which is confess'd, and justify'd by ORIGEN, (*p.* 390, 391.) who wrote his Answer under the Emperor PHILIP, between the 244th and 249th Year of Christ, ἐκτρεπόμεθα δὲ τῷ πάσης ξωῆς χορηγῷ ἀψύχους καὶ νεκροὺς οἰκοδομεῖν νεώς· which is a plain Proof that the Christians of that time had no Churches dedicated to the Worship of God Almighty. And this express and direct Testimony of so great a Father will infinitely outweigh all the remote Inferences that

may be drawn from dark Hints and doubtful Paſſages of other Writers of leſs Antiquity and Authority.

IN anſwer to the Teſtimony of MINUTIUS and ORIGEN, BARONIUS alledges, that the Chriſtians, tho they had little Churches, yet wanted Temples, in the proper Senſe of the Word; which Name was only given by the Heathens to large and magnificent Structures, dedicated to their Gods, and not to all their *Delubra*: And for this he quotes VARRO, (*apud A. Gellium*, xiv. 7.) But a Man who cites Authors at this rate, muſt have no Eyes or no Forehead: For VARRO does not make the Diſtinction between the *Templa*, and the *Ædes Sacræ*, to conſiſt in the largeneſs or ſmallneſs of the Structure; but in this, that no Place was call'd a Temple but what had been mark'd out, that is, conſecrated by the Augurs, as he explains himſelf, *de Lingua Latina*, lib. v. p. 54. *Scal. Ed.* lib. vi. p. 66, 7. and *Pomp. Feſt.* in *Siſtere Fana*, and in *minora Templa*. VARRO adds, that the *Ædes Veſtæ* (for this Reaſon I ſuppoſe) was not a Temple:

Temple: Which Obſervation, I believe, is true in the ſtrict and genuine Senſe of the Word, tho the beſt Writers in the *Auguſtan* Age have given it that Name, as OVID in his *Faſti*, lib. vi. v. 265, 297. and HORACE, *Od.* ii. *lib.* 1. LIVY's *Epit. lib.* xix. and many others. You may conſult GRONOVIUS upon this Chapter in A. GELLIUS; for my Edition has no Notes. But this Anſwer of BARONIUS, if it were true in fact, will affect the Teſtimony of MINUTIUS, but not of ORIGEN, unleſs he cou'd prove that the *Greek* νεως ſignifies the ſame with the *Templum* of VARRO; which will be a Diſcovery the Criticks will thank him for. *In urbe Romæ pleræque ædes ſacræ ſunt Templa*, Varr. vi. p. 67.

UPON the whole matter, I am now of opinion (for I ſhall willingly yield to better Reaſons) that the Chriſtians had no Churches till after the middle of the third Century, and that they held their Aſſemblies in private Houſes, or in their Cemeteries. I own that toward the end of the third Century, under DIOCLESIAN, when

their numbers were vaſtly increas'd by the long Peace they had enjoy'd from the end of VALERIAN, *A. C.* 259, to the Perſecution of DIOCLESIAN, *A. C.* 303. (for the Execution of AURELIUS's Edicts againſt them was prevented by his Death) they erected large and ſtately Churches, as appears not only from LACTANTIUS *de morte Perſecutorum*, c. xii. but from your Citation of EUSEBIUS, *lib.* viii. *c.* 2. But what thoſe παλαια ἀναδήματα were, in which they met before, is not very certain. FULLER ſuppoſes they were their Oratories; which is not improbable. But what he adds concerning their Antiquity, that an Unite was no Number, and that they muſt be of ſome Ages ſtanding to be ſtyl'd παλαιὰ, is mere trifling; for they might be call'd ſo if they had been only built thirty or forty Years, with reſpect to the Churches which were newly erected. The Churches in *London* which were rais'd ſince the Fire, are much of the ſame ſtanding: and there is no doubt but they will be call'd the old ones as the new ones are built. And Inſtances enough might be produc'd, from the beſt Writers, where

where the Word is us'd in the ſame Senſe. Upon this occaſion FULLER has made a double Miſtake: for he ſays theſe large Churches were built not long before the Reign of DIOCLESIAN, about the 300th Year of Chriſt; whereas EUSEBIUS expreſly affirms, that they were built, not before, but under DIOCLESIAN, whoſe Reign did not begin after the 300th Year of Chriſt, but long before, *viz. A.C.* 284. I am willing to believe that the Chriſtians had publick Oratories before that time; not ſo much from the Authority of GREGORY NYSSEN, in his Life of GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, which BARONIUS has produc'd, becauſe I take it to be rather a Romance than a Hiſtory, (and Mr. DODWELL has given a juſt Character of it in his *Cypr. Diſſert.* ii.) nor from FULLER's Citation out of EUSEBIUS, *lib.* vii. *c.* 29. which will eaſily admit of a better Senſe; as from a remarkable Paſſage in VOPISCUS's Life of AURELIAN, *c.* xx. where the *Eccleſia Chriſtianorum*, and the *Templum Deorum omnium*, are ſet in manifeſt oppoſition to each other. This makes me believe that the Chriſtians had

had little Churches or Oratories in AURELIAN's Time, about the Year 270. And, if I may be allow'd to gueſs, they were firſt erected about 260, under GALLIENUS, a known Patron and Incourager of Chriſtianity: For I can't think them of an earlier Date, not only for the ſake of ORIGEN's Teſtimony to the contrary, but becauſe there is no mention made, as I formerly obſerv'd, of their being ſeiz'd by VALERIAN, tho the Cemeteries were, or reſtor'd by GALLIENUS. And theſe are the Oratories which EUSEBIUS meant by his παλαια ἀναθήματα.

I AM not ignorant that Biſhop BEVERIDGE, in his Defence of the Apoſtolical Canons, *p.* 112. has produc'd the Teſtimony of PRUDENTIUS, in his Hymn on the Martyrdom of St. LAURENCE, who ſuffer'd in the Year 258, under VALERIAN, to prove that the Chriſtians had Churches at that time. And I own that PRUDENTIUS does plainly ſay ſo. But ſtill, this is later than the middle of the third Century.

BUT

BUT we ought to conſider what Credit the Authority of PRUDENTIUS deſerves. He wrote long after, in the beginning of the fifth Century, was a Poet, a Martyrologiſt, and a moſt Romantick Writer: of which I can bring Proofs beyond Exception from this very Work, (*peri Stephanon*, Hymn vi. Hymn ix.) where he brings in ROMANUS making an elegant Speech after his Tongue was cut out by the Roots; and QUIRINUS ſwimming down the Stream, with a Mill-Stone about his Neck. 'Tis great pity he had not liv'd a few Ages lower; for then we ſhou'd certainly have had a Hymn upon St. BEAVIS's marching with his Head in his Hand. After this, I leave you to judge what ſtreſs ought to be laid on his Writings. But the Biſhop carries this Point a good deal further, not only to prove that the Chriſtians had Churches at that time, but that they were adorn'd with all the Pomp and Ornaments of the preſent Age; for which he cites two Stanzas of PRUDENTIUS. But he ſhou'd have conſider'd that theſe are not the Words of the Poet, but of the

Governor of *Rome*, and are nothing elſe but an invidious Charge againſt the Chriſtians; as appears from the Sequel: For St. LAURENCE knew of no other Treaſure the Church was poſſeſs'd of, but the Lame, the Blind, the Maim'd, and other Objects of Charity who were maintain'd by the Alms of the Chriſtians. This is confirm'd by the following Verſes;

Argenteis ſcyphis ferunt
Fumare ſacrum Sanguinem.

That the conſecrated Blood reek'd in the Chalices; which is a plain Alluſion (as the Word *fumare* ſhews) to the Blood of the Infants, whom the Heathens accus'd the Chriſtians of murdering and eating in their nocturnal Meetings. This Fable took its riſe from the myſtical eating the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt; (which, being underſtood by the Heathens in the literal Senſe, gave them a handle for this Calumny:) which they conſider'd as the great Myſtery, and initiating Rite of our Religion; as you may ſee in TERTULLIAN's *Apol.* c. vii. in MINUTIUS, *c.* ix. 30.

SAL-

SALVIAN *lib.* iv. and many others. And by the Falſhood of this Report, you may judge what Credit is due to the former. No body who reads LACTANTIUS, *Inſt. lib.* ii. *c.* 4, 6. *lib.* vi. 2, 25. who writ long after the Martyrdom of St. LAURENCE, in the beginning of the fourth Century, will believe that the Chriſtians, at that time, had Gold or Silver Tables, and Wax-lights in their Churches: and I am perſuaded that PRUDENTIUS, when he put thoſe Words into the Mouth of the Governor, had in his eye the Magnificence and Splendor of the Churches of the fifth Century, in which he wrote. I don't know what the Criticks have ſaid upon this Paſſage of PRUDENTIUS; for my Edition is without Notes.

NOW to apply all I have ſaid on this Subject to the Purpoſe I firſt urg'd it: Since the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions (*lib.* ii. *c.* 57. *p.* 261.) bring in the Apoſtles giving formal Rules for the building Churches after the Form and Model of the fourth and fifth Centuries, one may very reaſonably conclude, from the Arguments I have

pro-

produc'd, that thoſe Conſtitutions were not dictated by the Apoſtles, nor collected by CLEMENS ROMANUS, but compos'd by an Impoſtor who liv'd ſome Ages after. Mr. WHISTON will perhaps ſay, that this, and many other falſe Dates, are Interpolations in the genuine Conſtitutions: But then he ought to produce ſome antient Manuſcript where theſe Interpolations are wanting; as Archbiſhop USHER and I. VOSSIUS did by the Epiſtles of IGNATIUS: But till that's done, every indifferent Critick will conclude, that this is a pitiful begging of the queſtion to ſerve a weak Hypotheſis. I am, Sir, *&c.*

To Dr. Tancred Robinſon.

LETTER I.

Dear Sir, *Sept.* 19. 1716.

I SEND you by my Brother a Bird, which I take to be a Non-Deſcript: Our *Corniſh* Fiſhermen call it a Petrel. They ſay it is generally ſeen off at Sea,

a

a good diſtance from the Land, is almoſt perpetually on the wing, and rarely obſerv'd to alight any where, and ſcarce ever appears aſhore, unleſs driven in from the Sea by a Storm. In miſty Weather it flies near the Fiſhermens Boats, who ſometimes knock it down with their Poles; and 'tis very difficult to take it any other time.

I FIRST ſaw it about two Years ſince at *Launceſton*, near which Place it was taken alive, (tho above twelve miles from the Sea) being driven in, as I ſuppoſe, by a High-wind, and ſpent with the Flight. I gave Mr. JAGO a Deſcription of it, who agreed with me in opinion, that 'twas a Non-Deſcript; and I wou'd then have ſent it to you, but the Owner refus'd to part with it upon any Terms. Mr. JAGO has ſince got another from the Fiſhermen of *Loo* in *Cornwal*, and I have one of my own which was found dead the 17th inſtant, in a Field of mine near my Houſe, about three Miles from the Main-Sea, being without doubt driven in by the great Storm of the 13th and 14th Inſtant, which has

has made a terrible Havock in our Country. I have ſent you Mr. JAGO's Bird, becauſe 'twas leſs ſhatter'd in the Feathers than my own.

I THOUGHT at firſt ſight that this Bird belong'd to the Penguin kind, one of the *Palmipedes Tridactilæ*; becauſe, as I ſuppos'd, it wanted the back Claw: but upon a nicer View I diſcover'd that it had one, tho ſo very ſmall that 'tis almoſt imperceptible. I don't know what Tribe to rank it under, except that of the leſſer Gulls, tho I own it wants the forked Tail: But however, tho it wants this Characteriſtick, yet it may well enough be call'd the leſſer round-tail'd Sea-Swallow, becauſe, in other reſpects, it agrees to no other Claſs ſo well.

THAT which diſtinguiſhes it from all other Birds I have ſeen or heard of, beſides the extreme Smallneſs of the Back-toe is the little Bump or Protuberance on the ridge of the upper Mordible, in which the Noſtril is plac'd, and runs parallel with the length of the Mordible, in a lit-

tle

tle Tube. In your Bird the Bill is a little bruis'd, and the Orifice of the Noſtril clos'd up, but in mine 'tis open and plainly viſible. The Fins of the Toes are a little rent in your Bird, but are intire in mine, and extend from the middle Claw to the inner and outer Claw on both ſides, rounding gradually in the form of a Half-moon, in this manner ◸. In other reſpects the Bird is intire, and what was defective in it, I have fully ſupply'd from my own. The Bird I ſaw at *Launceſton* is ſomewhat bigger than this, and is white under the Belly; but ſince it agrees in all other Particulars, I take this to be only an accidental difference, perhaps of Age or Sex, and not a ſpecifick one.

MY Brother will tell you that I have made a numerous Collection of all kinds of Birds, and hope by next Winter——

I am, Sir, *&c.*

LETTER II.

SIR, *March* 20. 171⅘.

YEſterday being *Thurſday*, *March* 19, there appear'd a Meteor in the Sky, ſo very uncommon and extraordinary, that I think it worth communicating to ſo curious an Inquirer into Nature as you are.

WE had a clear Sky all day, with a briſk Wind at *North-Eaſt*, which fell about Sun-ſet; and the Evening was pretty calm, but very cold, Sun large and red. I had been abroad that Afternoon, and rode two or three Miles after Sun-ſet. The Sky continu'd clear, and the Moon and Stars ſhone very brightly, and I did not obſerve one ſingle Cloud in the Air. About a quarter after eight, as I was walking in my Parlour, which has two large Windows facing the *South*, I ſaw a prodigious Blaze of Light flaſh in at the Windows, which came gentler than Lightning, but was infinitely more bright and luminous. In a word, it look'd as if the

Sun

Sun had ſhin'd in upon the Room: It laſted, as I judge, about five Seconds. I ran immediately into my green Court, but cou'd obſerve nothing in the Sky but one long narrow white Cloud in the *Eaſt*, which ſtretch'd in length from *North* to *South*, at a great diſtance from the Horizon every way; and the *Northern* Part gradually leſſen'd and diſappear'd. It look'd to me as if a Train of Gunpouder had been fir'd in the Air, and had left a bright Cloud of Smoak behind it; and this Account was confirm'd to me by one who ſaw it in the open Air. He ſays the Meteor took fire in the *North*, and ſtream'd along to the *South*, and fill'd all the Place it run thro' with a bright Cloud. I look'd on it two or three Minutes, and the Air being very ſharp, and concluding all was over, I went back into my Houſe; but I had no ſooner ſhut the Door, but to my great Surprize I heard a terrible Noiſe in the Air, like a loud Clap of Thunder, or the Diſcharge of two or three Canons, which laſted about twelve or fifteen Seconds. The Shock was ſo violent, that the Doors and Windows rattled, and the Houſe it

ſelf trembled. I ran out a ſecond time, but ſaw no other difference in the Cloud but that it was much ſhorter, and a little widen'd in the *South* Part. I ſtaid up till ten a Clock, but neither ſaw or heard any thing more of the Meteor. This is the firſt fulminating Meteor I ever ſaw or heard of in *England*. The famous *Aurora Borealis* deſcrib'd by Dr. HALLEY and Mr. WHISTON, and which appear'd about three Years ſince in the ſame Month, was not attended by Thunder or any Noiſe in the Air that I remember; and the difference in the length of its Duration, and ſo many other Circumſtances, make me conclude that theſe two Phænomena are of a diſtinct Kind and Nature.

THERE is no doubt but in this laſt Meteor the Light and Sound proceeded from the ſame Cauſe, *viz.* the Inflammation and Exploſion of ſome Nitro-ſulphureous Matter in the Atmoſphere; and the difference of Time between the diſappearance of the Light and the Sound that follow'd, (which I make about three Minutes, and others as much more)

more) is a manifeſt Proof that the Meteor was kindled at a vaſt height in the Air, and was conſequently viſible at a great diſtance on all ſides. Sound moves twelve Geographical Miles in a Minute.

'TWAS my Misfortune not to ſee the Meteor it ſelf, but only the Light of it; and I was ſo ſurpriz'd that I never thought of looking on my Watch to meaſure the Duration of the Light or Noiſe, or the diſtance of Time between each of them. But all I have ſaid on theſe Articles is only Conjecture; but as to the laſt Article, I believe my ſelf pretty exact in my Reckoning.

THIS rare Phænomenon may perhaps ſerve to account for the Thunderings in a clear Sky, ſo often mention'd by the old Writers; not only the Poets, as VIRGIL and HORACE, but by their beſt Philoſophers and Hiſtorians, as CICERO, PLINY, SENECA, LIVY, JULIUS OBSEQUENS, *&c.* and, in my opinion, is a much better Solution of that difficulty than what GASSENDUS has given of it

in his Commentary on the 10th Book of DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *p.* 1014.

LETTER III.

SIR, *Bake, March* 25. 1719.

I HOPE the Deſcription I ſent you by laſt Sunday's Poſt, of the late ſurprizing Meteor, is come ſafe to your Hands; and I now ſend you, according to my Promiſe, a further Account of what I have ſince learnt from ſeveral credible Perſons who ſaw and obſerv'd it.

SOME affirm that the Light came with a ruſtling Noiſe, and others are as poſitive that there was a ſmell of Brimſtone in the Air, neither of which I took notice of. A great many others ſay the Flaſh of Light was ſucceeded by a ſtrange Darkneſs, which I impute to their Eyes being dazzled with the Blaze; for I my ſelf, as well as many others, obſerv'd no ſuch thing. This is certain, by the Accounts we have receiv'd, that the Meteor was ſeen as far

Weſt

Weſt as the Land's End in *Cornwal*; and I find to day by the Evening Poſt, that it appear'd at *London* at the ſame time we ſaw it here: but there is no mention made of any Noiſe that ſucceeded it, nor did I expect it, for a Reaſon I ſhall mention hereafter.

Mr. *EDENS*, who teaches the Mathematicks and Navigation at *Loo*, and is a very ſenſible and ingenious young Man, was yeſterday at my Houſe; where we compar'd our Accounts of the Meteor, which agree pretty well in the main. I told him that I intended to write you a ſecond Letter this Poſt, and he begg'd me to deſire you to tell his Friend Dr. HALLEY, when you ſaw him next, that he was preparing a particular Relation of this Phænomenon, and wou'd ſend it him as ſoon as the Accounts which he expects from the *Weſt* of *Cornwal*, and the *North* of *Devonſhire*, are come to his Hands. I won't foreſtall his Deſcription, but ſhall only take notice in general, that he makes the Interval between the Flaſh and Noiſe four Minutes; that the Meteor at *Loo* ap-

pear'd elevated forty eight degrees above the Horizon; that its perpendicular Height was about thirty ſeven Miles; and that it was vertical about *Okehampton*, a Town in *Devonſhire*: from which laſt Circumſtance we both concluded, that the Noiſe by reaſon of the great diſtance, and the Wind's being Eaſterly, would not be heard at *London*; or at leaſt, ſince it muſt come near a quarter of an Hour after the Blaze, would not be thought to proceed from the ſame Cauſe, but be conſider'd as the Diſcharge of ſome Muſket or Ship-Gun in the River.

I WROTE you in my laſt, that I had never heard of ſuch a Meteor ſeen in *England* before: But I find in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, N. 135. juſt ſuch another deſcrib'd by Dr. WALLIS, which he took for a Comet; but whoever will carefully compare this Deſcription in all its Circumſtances with the late Meteor, will be apt to think they were of the ſame kind. No Noiſe indeed follow'd the Light; and no doubt, for the ſame Reaſon, that

that none was heard at *London* after the laſt Meteor.

BUT the Meteor which was ſeen at *Bologna*, *Florence*, and many other Parts of *Italy*, *A. D.* 1676, *March* 21. O. S. about half an hour paſt ſeven, a Deſcription of which was ſent to the Academy Royal at *Paris* by the famous CASSINI, is ſo exactly parallel with the late Meteor in every Circumſtance, *viz.* its Light, Noiſe, ſulphureous Smell, *&c.* that no reaſonable Man can doubt but both Meteors were of the ſame kind. I met with this Account in a Book intitled, *Philoſophia vetus & nova*, which commonly goes by the Name of COLBERT's *Philoſophy*, or the *Burgundian Philoſophy*. You will find the Paſſage, Tome the ſecond, in the Treatiſe of METEORS, *c.* 10. *p.* 1057. *Lond. Edit.*

ABOUT three Weeks or a Month ſince, I ſaw in the Prints an Account of ſuch another Meteor in the Article from *Venice*; but I have loſt or miſlaid that News-

News-Paper, and have forgot the Particulars.

THURSDAY the 19th in the Morning we had a Froſt, and I obſerv'd the Ice on the Pools about a quarter of an Inch thick; which Particular I had forgot to mention in my former Letter.

I am, Sir, *&c.*

Dr. SHERARD's firſt Letter to Mr. MOYLE.

SIR,

SOON after my Return from Smyrna, *I made Inquiry after you; but moſt of my Botanick Friends (eſpecially thoſe who had the Honour of your Acquaintance) being dead, I cou'd hear nothing till Mr.* SHORTIS, *at his Return from the* Weſt, *told me he had been at your Houſe: This was very agreeable news to me, and the more his aſſuring me you ſtill continu'd to proſecute the Study of natu-*

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ral Hiſtory, in which you have made ſo great Diſcoveries. This has been ſince confirm'd to my Brother, by your Siſter Madam CLELAND, *who knowing his Genius in the Search of Plants, was pleas'd to mention you; and upon his ſaying I deſir'd to know how I might write to you, told him ſhe thought a Letter might not be unacceptable to you. 'Tis on this ground, Sir, I take the liberty of addreſſing this to you.*

I HAVE ſeveral Years paſt gather'd Materials for reprinting C. BAUHIN's Pinax, *which I hope to finiſh in a Year or two, by correcting what has been better known ſince his time, and adding to it all Authors ſince printed; which will be the future Buſineſs of my Life, dedicating my Time wholly to it.*

I HAD formerly the Honour to know the Reverend Mr. STEPHENS *at* Oxford; *and if he be living, beg the favour of you to know how I may write to him. The* Fuci *and* Muſci, *communicated by your good ſelf and him to Mr.* BOBART, *I am*

am not perfect maſter of, and ſhould be glad of Information about ſome of them, in order to a new Edition of Mr. RAY's Synopſis, *which is quite out of Print, which is a great Diſcouragement to Learners. A Friend of mine deſigns to do it; and I have furniſh'd him with the Obſervations and Additions of Meſſieurs* DOODY, PETIVER, VERNON, BUDDLE, STONESTREET, MANINGHAM, *and Dr.* RICHARDSON; *beſides my Brother's, who has obſerv'd more new Plants in* England *than any one of them.*

Mr. SHORTIS *told me you had obſerv'd and deſcrib'd ſeveral Birds, either remaining in* England, *or elſe Paſſengers, which I am very glad of; as alſo that you made a Collection of their ſeveral Eggs. Mr.* DANDRIDGE, *a Perſon very curious in collecting and preſerving* Engliſh *Inſects, has done the ſame of late Years, and has by him a great Variety; ſeveral of which I procur'd him from Dr.* RICHARDSON. *If you pleaſe, he wou'd be glad of a Correſpondence with you,*

you, by which both your Collections might be render'd more perfect.

PLEASE to excuſe this Trouble, and if I can be any ways ſerviceable to you, freely to command, Sir, Yours, &c.

Mark-Lane, London, Dec. 1719.

Mr. MOYLE's *Anſwer.*

SIR,

I HAVE the Honour of your Letter, and tho I never had the Happineſs of correſponding with you till now, I am no Stranger to your Character, and your great Name in the Commonwealth of Learning; and for that Reaſon ſhall be always ready to receive your Commands, and contribute every thing that lies in my power to ſerve you in any of the noble Deſigns you are upon.

I COMMUNICATED your Letter to my good Friend and Neighbour Mr.

STEPHENS, who is ſtill alive and hearty. He deſir'd me to preſent you his humble Service, and to aſſure you that he will very ſoon ſend you up a complete Collection of all the ſubmarine Plants in *Cornwal* which he knows, and that you may command his Service in any thing. For my part I was once ſetting up for a Botaniſt, but my ill ſtate of Health has many Years ſince oblig'd me to abandon that Study, tho I have ſtill a ſtrong Reliſh and Inclination for it. I have chiefly apply'd my ſelf to Studies which I cou'd follow within Doors, as Criticiſm, Philology, *&c.* without meddling with any part of natural Hiſtory, except the Hiſtory of Birds that are either Natives of *England* or Paſſengers. I want a hard Winter or two to complete my Collections, and I ſhall then draw up my Obſervations upon them. I ſhou'd be very glad of a Correſpondence with Mr. DANDRIDGE; and if he deſigns to publiſh any thing on that Subject, I will readily communicate to him all my Obſervations.

Mr.

Mr. *TOURNEFORT*, in his Travels, ſeems to give us hopes that you will one day oblige the World with your Obſervations on the Antiquities of *Smyrna* and other Places in the *Levant*; but I don't hear that you have yet publiſh'd any thing of that kind. I was inform'd laſt Summer by Mr. METHUEN and Mr. EDGCOMB, of the noble Diſcovery of the *Silphium Cyreniacum*. They told me at the ſame time your ingenious way of finding out the Plant by the help of a little Animal which breeds in the *Silphium*, as we are told by HERODOTUS. The Duke of MONTAGUE, who was in *Cornwal* laſt Summer, gave me a Cut of the Animal drawn with his own Hand: 'Tis a moſt ſurprizing and extraordinary Creature. None of them cou'd tell me whether you had publiſh'd a Deſcription of the *Silphium*. I have read all the Antients have ſaid of that Plant in J. BAUHINUS and SALMASIUS, and have ſeen the Figure of it in many Medals; but none of the Botaniſts that I have conſulted know the modern Name of that Plant.

Plant. Mr. STEPHENS and I ſhall be extremely oblig'd to you, if you'll pleaſe to favour us with a Deſcription of the Plant ſo celebrated by the Antients. Whatever Letters you write to Mr. STEPHENS, you may incloſe to me, and I'll take care to convey them ſafely to him. Direct to me, at *Bake*, near *Loo*, in *Cornwal.*

I am, Sir, *&c.*

Dr. SHERARD's ſecond Letter.

SIR, London, Jan. 12. $17\frac{12}{13}$.

YOUR kind Anſwer to my Letter lays new Obligations upon me, which I wiſh you wou'd be pleas'd to give me Opportunity of acknowledging, in whatſoever may be for your Service that lies in my Power.

ACCORDING to your Permiſſion, I have inclos'd a Letter to my worthy Friend Mr. STEPHENS, *and thank you for the welcome News of his Health.*

I COMMUNICATED yours to Mr. DANDRIDGE, *who returns you his humble Service and Thanks: He ſays he has no Deſign of publiſhing any thing, but ſhou'd be glad to improve in the Knowledge of Birds, by ſeeing your Obſervations printed; which I hope you will do as ſoon as you have finiſh'd your Collection. I carry'd him two Birds he had not before (ſent me out of* Yorkſhire *by Dr.* RICHARDSON) Merula torquata & Regulus chriſtatus, *well preſerv'd. He ſhew'd me one I formerly ſaw with Mr.* BOBART *at* Oxon; *'tis I think of the* Larus *kind, not much bigger than a Swallow, all over black, the Feet wabbed, the Bill a little crooked; but what to me was remarkable, on the middle of it a hollow Prominence (doubtleſs with a* Septum intermedium) *inſtead of Noſtrils on each ſide of the Bill. I deſcrib'd about forty ſorts at* Smyrna, *moſtly ſuch as I cou'd not make out by Mr.* WILLOUGHBY, *which are intirely at your command. My Friend Dr.* RUDBECK, *Profeſſor at* Upſal, *has deſcrib'd great*

numbers in thoſe Parts, which I hope he will ſoon publiſh.

I THOUGHT I had wrote you that I copy'd above three hundred Greek *Inſcriptions in* Aſia Minor, *and brought thence a very numerous Collection of rare or not deſcrib'd Medals, with ſeveral other Antiquities. The Inſcriptions I have put into the hands of the Reverend Mr.* CHISHULL, *formerly Chaplain at* Smyrna, *who copy'd ſeveral during his Reſidence in thoſe Parts, and has ſince met with Mr.* VERNON's *Papers, who was kill'd at* Iſpahan. *I had neither Learning nor Time to publiſh them my ſelf, but conſulted the publick Good by engaging him. I hope they will be ready for the Preſs in the Spring. The Medals are partly grav'd in Mr.* HYAM's Teſoro Britannico, *Vol.* II. *juſt publiſh'd, and the Remainder will be in the third and laſt Volume this Year.*

I AM ſorry Meſſieurs METHUEN *and* EDGCOMBE *ſhould lead you into a Miſtake about the* Silphium Cyrenaicum; *'tis*

a Plant I have taken ſome Pains to be maſter of, and hope next Summer to ſee in my Garden. I met with two Gold Medals of Cyrene, *with a Man on Horſe-Back on one ſide, and the* Silphium *on the reverſe, as deſcrib'd in Authors, but with the Addition of an Animal at the Root of the* Silphium: *which put me on the ſearch what it was; and finding* HERODOTUS, *in* Melpomene, *call'd it* Gala, *I endeavour'd to procure the Animal, which I did. The Medals, with the* Gala *in three different Poſtures, at full bigneſs, are grav'd in Mr.* HYAM's *ſecond Volume.*

I HAVE not more to add, but to beg your Pardon for this, and to aſſure you that I am, with the greateſt Veneration and Reſpect imaginable, Sir,

Yours, &c.

Mr. MOYLE's *Anſwer.*

SIR, *Bake, Jan.* 26. 17$\frac{1}{2}$.

I HAD the Honour of your Letter, with another inclos'd to Mr. STEPHENS, which I ſent him the next day, and I ſuppoſe by this time you have an Anſwer to it. I am ſorry that Mr. EDGCOMBE's news of your Diſcovery of the *Silphium Cyrenaicum* proves a Miſtake; but am very glad that you have hopes of ſeeing it very ſoon in your Garden, and then I am ſure you will oblige the World with a Deſcription of it. I am ſorry you wanted time to publiſh the Inſcriptions and Medals you found in the *Levant*, with your Obſervations upon them. No Man is better qualify'd for ſuch a Work. But however, it will be a great Satisfaction to the World to ſee them publiſh'd in the Collections of Mr. CHISHUL and Mr. HYAM. Mr. STEPHENS, when he ſends you up the ſubmarine Plants of *Cornwal*, will at the ſame time give you a Deſcription of a very fine Fucus, which I found many

many Years ſince near the *Land's End.* The Plant it ſelf is loſt, but he remembers it perfectly well, and can deſcribe it very accurately; and I am not without hopes of getting the Fucus it ſelf for you. I have deſir'd him likewiſe, to ſend you a Deſcription of a Fir-Tree, which I have in my Garden, and which he takes to be a Non-Deſcript; and if it proves ſo, the Seed (for it bears Cones every Year, which by the way hang downward) ſhall be at your Service.

I BEG of you to preſent my humble Service to Mr. DANDRIDGE, and to let him know that the *Regulus Criſtatus* is very common with us, and that I have now two or three of them by me very well cur'd. The *Merula torquata* is by much the rareſt of that whole Tribe, but I have got the Cock, and am promis'd the Hen. When I have ſeen it, I ſhall be able to judge whether the *Merula Montana* of GESNER be a diſtinct Species, or the ſame with the *Hen Ring Ouzel*, as Mr. RAY ſeems to ſuppoſe.

AS for the other Bird you mention, I have ſeen many of them, and have two of them in my Collection. I never ſaw one intirely black, but they have generally a white Spot either on the Rump or at the bottom of the Belly. One of mine has an intire white Annulus round the Rump. The Back-claw is ſo extreme ſmall, that 'tis ſcarce diſcernable in the Bird when dry. The *Septum intermedium*, as you rightly gueſs, is viſible in all of them that I have obſerv'd, and divides the Noſtrils which are ſeated in the Prominence you mention. 'Tis without doubt of the *Larus* kind, and has never been deſcrib'd by any of the Ornithologiſts that I know of. About three Years ſince, I ſent one of them, with a Deſcription of it, to a Gentleman in *London*, who gave it to the Secretary of the Royal Society: But I find there is no room in *Greſham-College* for natural Hiſtory. Mathematicks have engroſs'd all; and one wou'd think the Gentlemen of that Society had forgot that the chief end of their Inſtitution was the Advancement of natural Know-

Knowledge. But to return to the Bird: our Fiſhermen have given it the Name of *Petrel.* 'Tis very common at Sea, but never I think appears at Land, unleſs driven in by a Storm, which very often deſtroys them. One of mine, after the laſt *September* Storm, was found dead near ſix miles from the Sea; and I have ſeen ſeveral others that were kill'd the ſame way. DAMPIER, in the Hiſtory of his Voyage to *New-Holland*, &c. in the Year 1699, is the only Writer who has mention'd it. He calls it, (*p.* 97.) as our Fiſhermen do, *Petrel*; and has given us the Reaſon of the name, with an imperfect Deſcription of the Bird, to which I refer you. The fineſt Birds I have lately added to my Collection, are the *Greenland*-Dove, or Sea-Turtle, and the *Himortopus*; which laſt was never ſeen by Mr. WILLOUGHBY or Mr. RAY. It was kill'd above a Year ſince, with four others, at a ſhot near *Penzance* in *Cornwal.* Mr. STEPHENS, to whom I ſhow'd it, aſſur'd me that another of them had been ſhot ſince that time at *Brampton*, on the *North-Sea*, in *Devonſhire.* If I can get another of them, I

ſhall do my ſelf the Honour to make a Preſent of it to Mr. DANDRIDGE.

I AM extremely oblig'd to you for your kind Offer of the Birds you collected at *Smyrna*: But I wou'd by no means rob you of ſuch a Treaſure. While they are in your hands, I ſhall always live in hopes that you, or ſome of your Friends, may one day communicate them to the Publick; but with me they will be quite loſt to the World. When I ſet about my Collection of Birds, I had no other Deſign but to make ſome Additions and Improvements to Mr. RAY's Hiſtory of *Engliſh* Birds; and to rectify ſome Miſtakes, eſpecially that groſs one about the *Corniſh* Gannet. I have ſeen ſeveral of them, and have one very well preſerv'd, which was brought me alive; and I can certainly aſſure you that the Gannet is the ſame with the *Soland-Gooſe*. Some other Errors I have obſerv'd; and if I live to complete my Collection, I intend to draw up my Obſervations in a Sheet or two of Paper; and if the Gentlemen of *Greſham* will vouchſafe to allow them a

Place

Place in their Tranſactions, to publiſh them that way to the World. By this time I am ſure you are tir'd, ſo I ſhall add no more, but that I am, Sir, Yours, *&c.*

Dr. SHERARD's third Letter.

SIR, London, May 10. 1720.

I HAVE not troubled you of late for want of ſomething worth communicating to you, and for the ſame Reaſon you may ſay I might have forborn now; but having receiv'd a Letter from my old Friend Dr. RICHARDSON *of* North-Bierley *in* Yorkſhire, *with a Bird he thinks new, I wou'd not neglect acquainting you of it, and offering you it if you have it not. He calls it* Paſſer domeſticus minor, torquatus, vertice cupreo; *'tis the Hen. The Cock, he writes me, has a much fairer Ring about his Neck. I thought this might be (before I ſaw it)* Paſſer montanus, in Styria & Carinthia frequens, *Willob. Ornithol.* 185. *which I have*

often ſeen at Smyrna, *but 'tis not. The Doctor has obſerv'd a Bird of the* Parus *kind, as large as the great Titmouſe, pied, either black or dark brown and white; of which he never ſaw above two, nor had the opportunity of ſhooting them; which, however, he hopes for. He ſent me alſo the* Parus Ater, *as generally thought, tho it does not very well agree with* GESNER's *ſhort Deſcription.*

MY Inſcriptions are at laſt in the Preſs, and I hope will be finiſh'd all this Year; beſides Mr. VERNON's *Collection, will be reprinted and added to them fifty formerly publiſh'd by Cardinal* BARBERINI, *in fifty half Sheets, of* Cyriacus Anconitanus, *which are ſcarce known to any of our Antiquaries. Signior* HYAM's *ſecond Volume is publiſh'd, containing chiefly thoſe of the Duke of* Devon's *Cabinet; and he is now at work on the third, wherein my Lord* PEMBROKE's *will be grav'd, which he hopes to finiſh in twelve Months at fartheſt.*

I HAVE not had the Honour of a Letter yet from the Reverend Mr. STEPHENS; *which, however, I am in hopes of at his Leiſure. I ſhall be glad to ſee the Deſcription of the* Fucus *you mention found near the* Land's End, *as alſo of your Fir-tree; ſome of the Cones will be very acceptable when ripe. Pray my Service to him.*

WHENEVER you ſhall pleaſe to ſend your Additions and Corrections to Mr. RAY's *Catalogue of Birds, I'll take care to ſee it publiſh'd in the next Tranſactions. I am, with true Eſteem and Reſpect, Sir, Yours,* &c.

Mr.

Mr. MOYLE's *Anſwer.*

SIR, *May* 25. 1720.

I HAVE the Favour of your Letter, and am extremely oblig'd to you for communicating Dr. RICHARDSON's Diſcovery of two Non-Deſcript Birds; for ſuch I take them to be, having never ſeen or heard of them before. The Colemouſe, which commonly paſſes for the *Parus Ater Geſneri*, I have cur'd by me, and have ſeen ſeveral of them; the Bird being common enough with us, and I found a Neſt of them laſt Summer in Mr. EDGCOMBE's Park. The reſt of the *Engliſh Pari* are frequent in our Parts, eſpecially the *Parus Cæruleus*, which is the commoneſt of all that Tribe. I heartily thank you for your kind Offer of Dr. RICHARDSON's Bird, but I wou'd by no means rob you of it, tho I am in hopes the Doctor will favour us with a Cut or Deſcription of it in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society.

THE

THE only Bird I have added to my Collection, ſince my laſt Letter, is the *Upupa* or *Hoopoe*. It was ſhot *April* the 20th, and is very well cas'd: I had one before, ſhot about two Years ſince, but very ill preſerv'd. They are not very rare in our Country; for ſix or ſeven have been kill'd or ſeen in *Cornwal* in theſe laſt two or three Years. I am perſuaded that they breed with us, tho I never heard that any of their Neſts were ever found. 'Tis certain that they fly in Pairs, in the Spring and Summer; and both mine had their Mates. I believe they are Birds of Paſſage; for I never yet heard of any ſeen in the Winter. Mine agrees very well with the Cut in WILLOUGHBY's *Ornithology*, but differs from the Deſcription in one Circumſtance; for in mine the Breaſt was of the ſame Colour with the Neck, *viz.* a pale red, and not white, variegated with black Strokes.

I AM mighty glad to hear that your Inſcriptions, with the other Papers you mention, are in the Preſs: I long to ſee ſo

ſo valuable a Collection. I expect very ſoon from *London* Signior HYAM's two Volumes of Medals, of which I hear a very good Character.

I CAN anſwer for Mr. STEPHENS, that he has not been unmindful of his Promiſe to you. He has already got the rareſt of theſe *Fuci* which you want, and in one day's Search more, he expected to have completed the whole Collection. But he has been unluckily laid up about two Months in a ſevere Fit of the Gout. He bids me give you his humble Service, and aſſure you that as ſoon as he is able to get a Horſeback, he will go to *Loo* Iſland and get the reſt of the *Fuci* for you. He will likewiſe ſend you the Deſcription of my *Fucus* and Fir-tree; and the Cones, when ripe, I'll take care to ſend you. I have no more to add at preſent, but my moſt hearty Thanks to you for all your Favours, and that I am, Sir, *&c.*

The End of the Firſt Volume.